MENTAL HEALTH
IN
MODERN EDUCATION

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MENTAL HEALTH

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IN
MODERN EDUCATION

The Fifty-fourth Yearbook of the
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PART II

Prepared by the Yearbook Committee: PAUL A. WITTY (Chairman),
HERBERT A. CARROLL, PAUL T. RANKIN, HARRY N. RIVLIN
and RUTH STRANG

Edited by

NELSON B. HENRY

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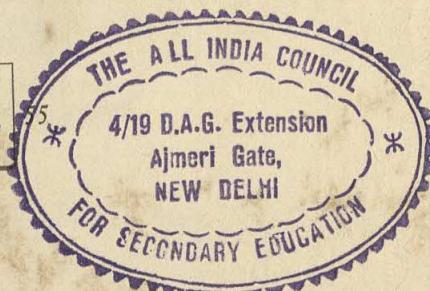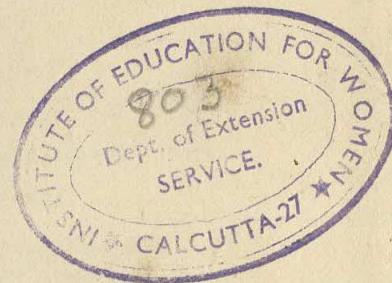
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The Society's Committee on
Mental Health in Modern Education

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WILLARD C. OLSON
Dean, School of Education, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
Author and Lecturer
Mill Valley, California

HELEN SHACTER
Consulting Psychologist
Chicago, Illinois

H. L. SHIBLER
General Superintendent of Schools
Indianapolis, Indiana

LOUIS P. THORPE
Associate Professor of Education, University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG
Associate Professor of Education and Psychology, Wayne University
Detroit, Michigan

FRANCES M. WILSON
Director of Guidance, New York City Board of Education
Brooklyn, New York

Editor's Preface

At the meeting of the Board of Directors in May, 1952, Mr. Witty presented a report on recent developments in the field of mental hygiene and suggested consideration of the possible desirability of a yearbook on this subject with particular reference to its significance for the improvement of classroom procedures. After some general discussion of professional interest in the problem of developing mental-health programs in the schools, the Board requested Mr. Witty to explore the suggested possibilities somewhat further and to present a definite proposal for such a yearbook at the next meeting. The proposal was duly presented in the form of a tentative outline of chapters of the prospective yearbook. The outline was approved, and the yearbook committee was selected, Mr. Witty being requested to serve as chairman of the committee. The yearbook was then scheduled for publication in 1955.

The rapidly growing literature on the subject of this yearbook suggests that, as one significant aspect of the scientific study of mental health in a democratic society, attention must be directed to the social utility of new knowledge favorable to the widest possible application of such knowledge to the promotion of social welfare. It is in this manner that the mental-hygiene movement has emerged from the status of a remedial agent in a mental institution to that of a professional agency engaged in safeguarding the normal developmental processes of human growth from infancy to maturity. Although organized programs of education are not the only instrumentality through which the children and youth of this generation are being guided toward the goal of effective living, the school has a unique relationship to children during the years of their growth to manhood and must accept the responsibility that such guardianship entails. The present yearbook has been prepared with special consideration for the needs of teachers and school administrators in meeting this responsibility.

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Introduction

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

Need for Programs of Mental Health

The attainment of mental health is a crucial problem at the present time. It has recently been estimated that in a single year one million persons received treatment in institutions and many others received treatment from private practitioners. Another survey showed that almost half of all the beds in our hospitals were occupied by psychotic patients. Some authorities estimate further that one person in twenty will sometime be admitted to a hospital because of a mental disorder and that another one in twenty will be temporarily incapacitated by emotional or nervous instability at some time in his life. Disability of this kind makes many persons temporary or permanent liabilities in society and affects in adverse ways the lives of many others. Since it is well established that many of these breakdowns could have been avoided by the provision of more desirable conditions in the home, community, or the school, it becomes the responsibility of these agencies to co-operate in preventing and alleviating personality disorder and emotional conflict. This yearbook suggests ways by which such objectives may be sought.

Mental health is a crucial need of teachers. Surveys have suggested that the incidence of emotional instability is as high among teachers as in other occupational groups. Moreover, studies have revealed that the frequency of personality disorder is very high among children in the classes of unstable teachers. Accordingly, the prevention and the development of improved conditions for teaching and learning are responsibilities of administrators, supervisors, educators—to whom this volume is addressed.

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Mental Hygiene Comes of Age

Mental hygiene has proceeded in the several decades since its origin from a preoccupation with abnormality and problem cases to include an emphasis on normal, wholesome development and the prevention of behavior difficulties. Its growth has been accompanied by many far-reaching educational applications. In fact, mental hygiene is now considered by some educators as being primarily an attitude which influences the teacher's behavior at all times—in his personal relationships with pupils, in his practices in marking, promoting, and counselling boys and girls, and in other major and minor incidents of his entire school day. The classroom of a good teacher reflects this attitude; it is a place in which success, feelings of security, confidence, and mutual concern predominate and assure every child his chance to develop harmoniously, continuously, and happily. The basic principles of mental hygiene should be widely disseminated, and teachers generally should be encouraged to apply them in the classroom and in their own lives. More than ever before, teachers need the help offered by this discipline in safeguarding their own mental health as well as that of boys and girls.

It is gratifying to note that the number of classrooms in which mental-hygiene principles are applied is gradually increasing. Despite anxieties, worries, and the distractions of an insecure world, more and more teachers are offering boys and girls a stabilizing atmosphere which encourages the development and maintenance of balanced, poised personalities. Many such classrooms are described in this yearbook.

Another indication of sound perspective is found in the teacher's concern that each child should have a chance to find satisfaction in creative work. Expression, release, and escape through worthy, creative endeavor are demanded by growing bodies and minds. In good classrooms creativity appears in many forms: handwork, music, writing, dramatization, and so forth. Through increased participation in these diversified activities, the teacher himself frequently discovers a potentiality that he little suspected. The teacher's expression of such an ability frequently has a stabilizing effect, yielding individual satisfaction and adding to his own mental health.

Through his attempts to provide adequately for individual differ-

ences in interest and ability within his class, the teacher usually develops wide interests, too. These interests frequently lead him to participate in varied community activities, which not only contribute to his own welfare but also give greater vitality and meaning to classroom endeavor. But such activities can sometimes become too onerous and exacting. In the face of increasing responsibilities and time-consuming demands, teachers need relaxation, recreation, and "escape." They should attempt to develop patterns for living which will include a balance between work and recreation. Just as it is important for the pupil to find expression in worthy recreation, so too in the case of the teacher, this is an imperative if mental health is to be maintained. In this volume, some ways are suggested by which the teacher may meet this problem.

Another evidence of the mental-hygiene approach is found in the renewed interest of teachers in language and its relationships to clearer thought and communication. It is not surprising that many teachers are turning with enthusiasm to books on semantics. These teachers are attempting through many activities to insure that communication is untrammelled and unequivocal. They are finding that these activities have far-reaching results; one of these is the development of attitudes of tolerance, mutual concern, and amity. These efforts are indeed reassuring, since part of the battle in achieving success in human relationships is won when language is clear and communication is unimpaired. Examples are found throughout this book which indicate that administrators and teachers are increasingly recognizing the relationship of language to mental health.

An emphasis on mental health in our schools is in accord with objectives stressed by forward-looking people in education who seek, as the goal of education, the maximum development of every boy and girl in accord with his unique nature and his needs. The emphasis on mental health is in accord, too, with the consideration given basic human needs in the development of curricula and with the insistence that subject matter and experience be selected to satisfy "developmental tasks." Throughout this volume, ways are suggested by which the needs of all pupils may be met—including, of course, the needs of rapid-learning or gifted pupils as well as those whose restricted abilities, handicaps, or personality deviations present obstacles to effective learning.

Emphasis on continuous growth as part of a mental-hygiene program necessitates recognition by the teacher of the significance of the home and of other agencies in determining the pupil's mental health. In this book, attention is given to the role of the parent before the child starts to school as well as his importance throughout the child's entire school life. Examples are included, too, to show how other agencies, in addition to the home, may make a positive contribution to each child's development.

Role of This Yearbook in the Improvement of Mental Health

The examples found throughout this volume show that progress is being made in the practice of mental health in our schools. It is important at this time that these gains be preserved, extended, and made the stock of teachers generally, for they appear to offer hope for future progress. On occasion, some of us are inclined to lose faith in the nature of the world and of man and to doubt the worth of individual effort. A balanced perspective is threatened by fears and anxieties; and insecurity becomes a shackling cloak for our endeavor.

The committee which has planned and assembled this yearbook believes that the volume will add a measure of reassurance to many school people by demonstrating the value of individual effort on the part of teachers in behalf of better mental health. And it may even suggest to others the significant role education might assume in the making of a saner world.

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS OF THE MENTAL-HEALTH MOVEMENT
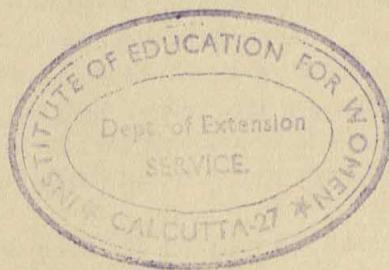
The Role of Mental Health in Education

HARRY N. RIVLIN

The Mental-Hygiene Movement in American Education

The history of attitudes toward the mentally ill is a history of ways in which our values and beliefs are influenced by the culture in which we live. The mentally ill have been feared as prophets, and they have been stoned to death as devils. They have been shunned as outcasts, and they have been made the objects of charity, along with the aged, the orphaned, and the poor. It is only relatively recently that the world has come to see them as patients who should be treated and aided; it is even more recently that we have sought means of preventing mental illness.

The mental-hygiene movement has done much to educate people in understanding the nature of mental illness and has helped foster more humane treatment of the mentally ill. It has stimulated the search for the causes of emotional disorders, and it has sought to find preventive procedures so as to reduce the incidence of breakdowns. Today, mental hygiene aims at even more than the prevention of mental illness. It seeks also to help people develop and enjoy such good mental health that they can achieve their maximum potentialities.

Many people delimit much too narrowly the scope of mental hygiene in modern education by thinking only in terms of the prevention of emotional breakdowns. When they examine teaching procedures, it is largely with a view to removing hazards to good mental health, as though they were safety engineers suggesting that there will be fewer accidents when certain workers wear goggles and other workers wear caps. To be sure, the teacher does deal with emotionally disturbed children in the classroom and must know what can be done under classroom conditions. Nevertheless, the

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teacher is more than a kind of psychiatric assistant who administers first aid to those who are suffering from minor disorders so that mild difficulties will not require psychiatric attention later.

Mental hygiene has a greater and more positive role to play in the schools than merely attempting to reduce the incidence of mental illness in the United States, important though such a reduction is. In its concern with those children who are already giving evidence of serious emotional disturbance, the schools should not ignore all the other children who should be helped to attain a more wholesome state of mental health so that they can develop into mature, responsible, and well-adjusted adults. Like those who are concerned with physical hygiene, mental hygienists today are aiming at the improvement of mental health rather than at merely the prevention of illness.

It is easy to see how we developed the habit of thinking of mental hygiene in terms of emotional breakdowns. The mental-hygiene movement really began with the publication of *A Mind That Found Itself*, a gripping story in which Clifford Beers told of his own mental illness and of his recovery. It was, and still is, a stirring book. It started or stimulated many a movement for the correction of the intolerable conditions in institutions for the mentally ill. Beers himself helped organize the National Committee for Mental Hygiene for the dual purpose of getting better care for those who are ill and of arousing the public to a realization of the need for preventing mental illness. From the very beginning, then, mental hygiene was associated with the prevention of emotional disorders.

The Work of the Guidance Clinics

One of the first effects that the mental-hygiene movement had upon education came from the organization of child guidance clinics. Working together as a diagnostic and therapeutic team, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers sought to detect emotional disorders in the early stages and to help youngsters make an appropriate adjustment. These clinics have done much to clarify the causes of children's difficulties, and they have aided countless children attain a far better degree of emotional adjustment than would otherwise have been possible.

In addition to the direct effect that these clinics have had upon the children who were accepted for diagnosis and treatment, they have affected many more children by the influence they have exerted upon the teachers' attitude toward emotional adjustment. As these clinics expanded in number and in size, they demonstrated to ever larger numbers of teachers that children's emotional difficulties arise from causes that can be treated. They have shown how school practices themselves sometimes contribute to the development of the child's problems.

Clinics can do much for their clients, but they are inadequate as a means of coping with the mental-hygiene problems of the total child population. Partly because child guidance clinics are so expensive to operate and can treat so few children, many attempts have been made at increasing the number of children who can be helped. Clinics have been supported by agencies other than schools —by hospitals, for example. There are traveling clinics that serve many communities instead of just one. Schools that cannot afford to maintain full clinical service are using school psychologists, school social workers, and guidance counselors as means of helping children.

There is an even more promising way of improving the mental health of children, especially of those whose difficulties are not sufficiently severe to require clinical treatment. From the experience of these clinics and from other avenues of psychiatric and psychological research we have learned enough about the etiology of emotional disorders to plan and execute a preventive program. Clinics deal with the end result of a long series of errors—of errors made by the child, the home, the school, and society. It makes little sense to establish more and more clinics to correct the results of these errors if the child, the home, the school, and society go right on making more errors. It makes little sense, too, to wait until the problem is so serious as to need clinical treatment, when earlier detection and correction of the child's difficulties might have made clinical treatment unnecessary.

Responsibilities of Teachers and Parents

If we are to deal adequately with the mental health of all children, it becomes increasingly clear that the teacher has a major

role. All children attend school, and the teacher is the only person with some psychological training who comes into contact with all children. The school environment is, moreover, so important a part of the child's life that the teacher's control of this environment may be an important aid in developing wholesome emotional adjustment. The teacher's influence becomes even greater as he is successful in winning the family's co-operation so that the home and the school can co-operate effectively in developing the kind of emotional climate in which children achieve emotional health.

The teachers and the parents have the responsibility for seeing that the child achieves so sound a degree of emotional stability that he can take in stride the frustrations and the disappointments that may be disastrous to others. More important still, they may help him function so effectively that he will have fewer frustrations and disappointments.

If the teacher is to achieve this goal, he must be aware of the child's basic emotional needs and must help create the kind of environment in which they can be satisfied. The curriculum must be built on the solid basis of the child's growing maturity so that the demands made by the school are not beyond the level of the developmental tasks for which the youngster is ready. The teacher as a classroom leader must, himself, be so thorough a master of human relationships that children learn how to get along with each other and with themselves. They must learn how to work together and how to play together. They must develop the ability to make suggestions without offending and to take suggestions without being offended. In short, the teacher can develop the kind of emotional climate in the classroom that is most conducive to helping healthy children develop normally and that assists the disturbed child in developing more effective and more wholesome patterns of adjustment.

All too often, the teacher is handicapped by conditions over which he has little control. When the class size is large, no teacher can do as much for his pupils as he would like to. The secondary-school teacher, for example, may well ask how he can possibly get to know his students when he has a new group every forty-five minutes and when he may be meeting as many as two hundred and fifty—or even more—different adolescents in the course of a single day. Where the curriculum is formalized, the teacher has no choice

but to strive for some degree of mastery of the prescribed skills and information, no matter how remote they may be for the students or how far beyond their ability to learn. How can a teacher help his students feel secure when the relationships between the teachers and the administrators are such as to make the teachers themselves feel insecure? Though the classroom teacher is a key person in any program for improving mental health in schools, we shall also have to examine many other factors in this yearbook.

The Incidence of Emotional Disorders

The increasing attention which is being paid to the opportunities for effective mental-hygiene work in the schools results from our greater awareness of the social and personal costs of poor mental health, both with those who are so seriously incapacitated that they must be institutionalized and with the still larger number of people who, though not seriously enough disturbed to be hospitalized, are nevertheless functioning ineffectively because of their emotional handicaps.

The incidence of mental illness in the general population presents a national problem of great urgency. Most lay people have become somewhat aware of the dimensions of the problem, partly because of the publicity that accompanies drives for bond issues to finance needed institutional expansion. In a vague way they know that about half of the hospital beds in the United States are occupied by patients suffering from nervous and mental disorders. This figure means little to lay people, however, except to those who work in these institutions or have friends or members of the family as patients there, for it is difficult to comprehend numbers that are so large.

More than half a million patients are now in state hospitals for psychiatric treatment. Another quarter of a million patients are in city, county, or federal hospitals or in private institutions. These numbers do not include those who are obtaining private psychiatric help outside of institutions. Three-quarters of a million people! How many towns and cities must we include before we get a population of that size? Yet that is how many patients are at this moment so ill mentally that they are institutionalized. Their period of institutionalization, moreover, will be longer, on the average,

than that of people suffering from physical ailments, because it takes longer to mend broken spirits than broken bones.

There is every indication that the size of this institutionalized population will continue to grow. Each year, about 200,000 new patients are admitted to mental hospitals. The number has been going up steadily for some time, both in terms of the actual number of new admissions and in terms of the percentage of the general population. To be sure, part of this increase is the result of better diagnosis so that we are more likely to recognize cases that have emotional and mental problems. The increase can also be attributed in part to mental-hygiene campaigns which have helped lay people understand that emotional and mental problems are no cause for shame, with the result that families are more willing to seek treatment for those who need it. The lengthening life-expectancy has contributed to the greater number of people who are now hospitalized, because more people live to the age at which degenerative disorders, such as senile dementia, are likely. There are many explanations for the condition, but the fact remains that the rate of new admissions is going up. In the period 1938-49, for example, there was more than a 50 per cent increase in the number of such new admissions. These figures are too startling to be ignored and certainly underline the importance of making every effort at prevention.

World War II furnished dramatic evidence of the prevalence of emotional disorders among people regarded as normal by their families and friends. Carroll points out that "in spite of the fact that approximately 8 per cent of those called up for service were rejected as being mentally or emotionally defective, over one-third of those dicharged before V-E day were neuropsychiatric cases" (4).

Virtually all of these patients were once students in our schools. Many of them were already manifesting, as children, the weaknesses that later led to their collapse. If the school had been more sensitive to their difficulties in adjustment and if appropriate therapeutic help had been provided in time, some of those who are now incapacitated might be living more fruitful lives.

We see only part of the problem, however, when we compute the cost of mental illness in terms of those who are institutionalized or who need institutionalization. Few people see the price society

pays for the emotional difficulties of those who are never committed to institutions. The price is not so obvious because there are no special bond issues and no startling statistics. How can we estimate the loss when emotionally immature people marry and then find that marriage is no cure for immaturity? How do we compute the value of the lives that are ruined when a parent projects his own problems onto his children and keeps them from developing the abilities they have? How do we measure what is lost when young people, who demonstrate on tests that they have high mental ability, nevertheless, drop out as failures in school and college, or in professional and graduate schools? How much does society lose when people cannot hold onto a job or cannot get along with others or with themselves? If mental hygiene can help people face their problems and enjoy living, the contribution will be noteworthy, even if the problems of institutionalization are still to be solved.

Too many people function at less than maximum capacity and get less satisfaction than they should out of what they do, only because they impose unnecessary burdens upon themselves. With exaggerated concern for the petty details of daily life, they are never really free to tackle and enjoy the major challenges. Some people never outgrow their childhood and spend an entire lifetime fighting their childhood battles over and over again. To some, every person in a superior position—every employer or supervisor—must be defied as though he were the father who should have been defied years ago. It is difficult enough to solve today's problems as they occur one by one, but the task becomes almost hopeless when we persist in adding the problems of last year and the years before.

Achieving the Objectives of Mental Hygiene through Education

When we speak of mental hygiene in the schools, we are not thinking of the teacher as standing between his pupils and their otherwise inevitable collapse. The overwhelming majority of children will never have an emotional breakdown; and those who do may become ill because of factors far beyond the teacher's control. Where the teacher can be most helpful is in aiding his students to develop those attitudes and habits that will enable them to become mature adults, capable of working and playing with other

people, willing to face the very real problems that confront them without handicapping themselves by adding imaginary difficulties. This emphasis upon the student's adjustment is not new to the schools, for good teachers have always been concerned with their students' wholesome development. It does throw into sharp contrast, however, some school practices which, far from improving the student's adjustments, actually create additional threats.

Creating a Wholesome Emotional Climate in the Classroom. Probably the most important single contribution that the school can make to its students' mental health is to see that the emotional climate of the classroom is wholesome. No matter what else the teacher seeks to achieve, his major goal must be to see that the quality of the human relationships is such as to assure each pupil of the understanding and the sympathy he needs in order to develop sound emotional health. Today's teacher is still interested in the three R's—and in teaching many more skills and much more information than were ever encompassed within the three R's—but he is concerned just as much with making certain that his pupils are so well adjusted that they can use the skills and the information they are acquiring. He knows that *how* children learn is as important as *what* they learn. In fact, how they learn will affect what they learn and how much they learn.

The classroom climate is important because the school plays such a large part in the child's life. What the teacher thinks and what he does are often major factors in influencing the child's developing sense of values and in shaping his patterns of behavior. The reactions of his peers—and the teacher is not without influence in setting the tone of these reactions and in determining how they will be expressed—are important factors in any child's life.

The day the youngster enters school is a big event in his life, and, from that day on, what happens at school will continue to be important to him, regardless of whether he is successful or unsuccessful in his studies. He will learn much at school, but not all of it will appear in the teacher's plan for the term. At home, he had the center of the stage; at school, he must learn to share the stage with many, many others. At home, he was ordinarily judged in terms of what he used to do when he was younger. At school, he is evaluated in terms of other children his own age. Thus, his

parents are delighted when he dances to the music he hears on TV. His teacher, however, has seen other children dance to this music— and dance more gracefully. At school he learns how important child society is and how different are the standards set for accept- ance by his peers from those of his home.

The youngster who enters school comes with attitudes that have been developed out of previous experiences with successes and failures, with satisfactions and frustrations. He has already learned whether he can hold his own with his siblings and friends; he knows the disappointment of not being able to get what he wants when he wants it; and he has experienced the glow of satisfaction that comes when he senses that his parents are pleased with what he has done. Yet school confronts him with other situations in which success and failure take on new meaning. He sees himself reading well while others are still looking at pictures, or he is still looking at pictures while others read book after book. There is sometimes no such clear-cut feeling of success or failure at home. His ability to dress himself, for example, develops gradually. As mother helps him dress and he does more and more of it himself, there is no specific point at which he is regarded as passing or failing.

The influence of the school does not stop with the kindergarten or the first grade. For many years, it will make a great difference to him whether school is a place where he feels he is a success or a failure; whether he is accepted there by others or is rejected; and whether he learns to face problems or refuses to accept a new challenge because he knows he will fail. The behavior habits and attitudes he develops in school, or because of it, will do much to help shape the kind of person he is and will become. It is much too narrow, therefore, to evaluate school procedures in terms of the limited phases of learning that are measured on teachers' tests.

Each child has the right to feel accepted and respected as an indi- vidual. No teacher can be expected to love every child he teaches, but he can be expected to accept his pupils as people. If the climate is wholesome, children are free to attack the problems they en- counter, for they know that an error will not be treated as an offense.

Much sentimental discussion has centered about "permissiveness" or its opposite, "authoritarianism." No teacher should go to the

extreme of permissiveness, ignoring what is happening in class. He cannot sit impassively, for example, while one child is hurting another. He has no such easy set of alternatives as permissiveness and authoritarianism. His is the more difficult task of indicating that he is accepting the pupil, even when he disapproves of what the youngster is doing. Where the emotional climate is wholesome, the child is more ready to modify his patterns of behavior because he knows and feels that he is not rejected by the teacher. When every child feels thus accepted, the atmosphere is satisfactory.

The emotional climate is more likely to be wholesome when the work of the classroom is so closely related to children's needs and goals that the pupils see its purposefulness. The teacher relies upon many incentives to improvement, but they are not the hysterical outbursts, the dependence upon punishment, and the appeal to excessive competition that make for undesirable tension.

In short, a wholesome classroom climate provides a setting in which children can work together, secure in the knowledge and the feeling that they are accepted by the group and the teacher. This emphasis upon a wholesome classroom atmosphere is no plea for soft pedagogy. There is ample experimental and clinical evidence to demonstrate that children learn better and accomplish more under conditions which foster mental health.

Assuring Students of Well-Adjusted Teachers. If we are to develop a wholesome emotional climate in the classroom, the teacher becomes the key person, both as a technician and as a personality. It is impossible to develop this kind of climate unless the teacher is an expert at teaching. We hear so much about the importance of giving the child a feeling of security that we sometimes forget that the teacher, too, must feel secure before he can give his undivided attention to the development of his pupils. The teacher who feels insecure in his position is more likely to treat a child's error as a personal affront and a challenge to his status than is the teacher who is at home with his class. The teacher's professional competence is thus of major importance, for the incompetent teacher is almost certain to be an insecure teacher, and the insecure teacher finds anything more than routine teaching to be too difficult to handle.

It is for this reason that we sometimes find a paradoxical situa-

tion in our schools today. Modern methods of teaching, which were planned to develop a freer classroom feeling and thus promote a greater sense of security in pupils, sometimes have the opposite effect. In the past, when the curriculum was thought of as being divided into specific subjects, each of which was taught in short daily lessons, the new teacher and the mediocre teacher found life to be rather simple. They knew, for example, exactly which topics they were to teach in history and on which words they had to drill in spelling. As a result, preparation for class was relatively simple. In class, routine teaching was the rule because the day was divided into many short segments, each with its specific goal. Although the inexperienced and the routine teacher often found this procedure to be most comfortable, the more capable teacher felt stifled by the rigid schedule. Today, both teachers and students are freer to plan in terms of larger units of time. The curriculum is no longer so rigid that the teacher can determine long in advance precisely what it is that will be done each minute of the day. The gifted teacher exults in a feeling of freedom that makes it possible for him to build the curriculum around his children's interests.

This very freedom which makes teaching more stimulating for the more capable teacher also makes teaching much more difficult for the less capable one. No longer can the teacher think in terms of a twenty-minute spelling period, to be followed by a history period of twenty-five minutes. Similar changes in methods of discipline, which shift the emphasis from automatic and unquestioning obedience to the development of self-control and participation in effective group procedures, handicap the teacher who is not equipped to handle the group except when he is the unquestioned czar. The newly appointed teacher can no longer rely upon the preparation he makes the evening before class as the sole basis for effective classroom leadership. Asked to conduct a class with a freer atmosphere, he sometimes finds that freedom in the class of an incompetent teacher means disorder. Ashamed to revert to older methods of teaching and incapable of using newer procedures, he is sometimes so confused that the children are also confused.

No one who knows how much more is being achieved today and under how much better circumstances it is being achieved by competent teachers dares suggest that we return to the more formal

teaching of former years. It is folly, however, to assume that all teachers are ready for this new freedom. What we need is more careful and more thorough preservice teacher preparation and more helpful guidance for teachers in service so that they can profit from the opportunities that are now open to them.

The teacher's personality is itself an important factor in determining whether or not he can develop wholesome classroom atmosphere. Obviously, the teacher who is himself an insecure person can hardly stimulate a feeling of security in his students, for he is so concerned with his own adjustments that he cannot think of theirs. If, for example, he has had an unhappy childhood because of his relations with his own parents, he may tend to project his own feelings into the situation and see his pupils as though he were reliving his own childhood experiences.

The teacher's mental health depends only in part upon his early adjustments. To the extent that it does, more careful student selection by teacher-education institutions and more careful screening before initial teaching appointments are made may help to keep the unfit from the classroom. Emotional adjustment is not a static state, however, so that a most promising twenty-two-year-old beginning teacher is not necessarily certain to be equally well adjusted for the rest of his life. Educational administrators, therefore, have an important responsibility for seeing that there is a wholesome emotional climate throughout the school so that the teacher, too, lives in an atmosphere that is conducive to sound emotional health. One of the major responsibilities of the principal and the superintendent is to see that the promising and enthusiastic young teachers do fulfil their promise and retain their enthusiasm as they become more experienced.

Evaluating Classroom Procedures. The objective which the mental-hygiene program has for the emotional development of children offers an important set of criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of classroom procedures. Mental hygiene suggests an attitude and a point of view which should influence everything the teacher does in the conduct of his profession—his way of asking questions as well as his treatment of the questions his students ask; the procedures followed in administering tests and those concerning his role in cocurriculum activities; the appeals by which he stimulates

the child's desire to participate in classroom activities and the measures by which he brings the unruly into line; his attitude toward the asocial child, such as the young thief or the bully, and toward the unsocial pupil whose timidity keeps him from mingling with others. Far from being only a series of emergency measures, mental hygiene in schools takes on significance only when it is bound up so inextricably with all that the teacher does that only careful analysis can reveal its exact influence. There is no conflict between sound educational procedures and the principles of mental hygiene. Both are concerned with the adjustment of the child to his present environment and with the maturity of the adult he is to become.

Of course, schools are still interested in what their children learn, in how much they learn, and in how well they retain what they learn. Teachers realize, however, that much that is learned is never reflected on a standardized test. If we are evaluating the relative effectiveness of two methods of teaching children to read, we get only a very limited picture of the results if we restrict ourselves to a comparison of the scores on reading tests. We may, for example, increase the number of words which a child recognizes at sight by resorting to personal competition and by humiliating any youngster who makes an error. At the end of a few weeks of such teaching, there may be a gain in the number of words recognized at sight, but these figures do not measure the number of nightmares children have or their inability to hold their breakfast the day of the weekly test. These figures certainly will not reveal the attitudes which children are developing toward reading. In the long run, these tests may not measure even the ability to read, for children who associate reading with tension are hardly likely to become avid readers.

There is little that the school teaches that is worth achieving if the price is a maladjusted youngster. Of what avail is it to give him a rich array of skills and a wealth of informational background if he is too disturbed to be able to use them? The objection that mental hygienists raise to classroom tension does not indicate an indifference to learning. They are convinced that learning takes place more efficiently and can be used more effectively when the student is helped to achieve emotional stability and thus gain a sense of responsibility and maturity.
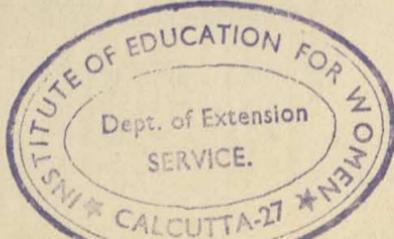
Understanding the Background of Behavior. The teacher who understands the background of children's behavior and who is ready to view classroom teaching as a way of helping to improve the adjustment of his pupils can do much as a teacher without attempting any psychotherapy. The teacher is with his pupils for so long a period of time that it is impossible for an observant teacher not to notice the patterns of behavior he sees manifested day after day. This is especially true if the teacher changes his concept of discipline from that of the authoritarian taskmaster, whose major responsibility is seeing that his orders are obeyed, to the more modern conception of the teacher as the person who helps his students to adjust to the social situations in which they find themselves. To be sure, the school is not the home, and children sometimes behave differently at school from the way they do at home, but no youngster can change his personality pattern so completely that his school behavior is not a revealing index of his adjustment to other situations as well. For example, the youngster who goes to pieces if his work is not praised by the teacher is not likely to take other criticism in stride. The child who has few friends in school and spends most of his playground time watching other children at play is ordinarily not the one who has many friends outside of school. Similarly, the young bully who gets his way by dominating others is probably using in school the procedures he has found effective elsewhere. There are many other ways, too, in which the teacher can see how children respond to new situations and to other children and, also, how other children treat these youngsters.

These instances all refer largely to the work of the elementary-school teacher, but problems of adjustment are as important with secondary-school students as with their younger brothers and sisters in the elementary school. Unfortunately, most of our American secondary schools are still organized in terms of strict departmentalization, so that most junior and senior high school teachers see their students for only short periods of time and under circumstances that are not conducive to their getting to know the children well.

There are many opportunities for teachers to learn more about their students. For example, much that is written in the English

class is revealing to any teacher who is interested in seeing more than grammatical constructions. The growing interest in such curricular modifications as the core curriculum holds the promise that secondary-school teachers may get to know their students much better.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the classroom teacher is not a trained psychotherapist and is so busy with the teaching problems as to have little time for prolonged investigation of children's emotional adjustments. Yet, it is amazing that schools which must certainly be aware of the emotional problems of adolescents should sometimes make such little provision for helping them.

Regardless of how concerned the teacher is with the intellectual problems of learning, he cannot help noticing the ways in which children are reacting to strain, to frustration, and to challenge. The teacher, who sees discipline as a way of helping children to adjust to the social group of which the student is a member, must know the background of behavior before he can achieve any readjustment. The high-school student who is inattentive in class cannot be made more attentive if the teacher does no more than command him to face front. Somehow or other, the teacher has to discover why the youth is inattentive or there can be no improvement. Similarly, the student who is reluctant to participate in a classroom discussion or to play more than a passive role in any group of which he is a member needs more than an appeal to speak up.

The teacher who understands the basic emotional drives that underlie all behavior and who appreciates the ways in which these drives are manifested at various stages of development is in a much better position to help the student achieve adjustment. Where discipline and class teaching are examined from the point of view of their effect upon adjustment and emotional help, the more successful the teacher is in discovering the causes of unsatisfactory behavior or ineffective learning, the more likely he will be to get at the emotional problems which the student must be helped to solve.

In his zeal for correcting situations that disturb the classroom, the teacher cannot afford to lose sight of emotional problems that do not lead to failure at school or to misconduct. Many a docile youngster needs and will appreciate the teacher's interest and sym-

pathy even more than will the extrovert who has no difficulty in making his needs felt by all about him.

Providing for the Recognition and Treatment of Early Manifestations of Emotional Difficulty. Probably the most important lesson to be learned from the research that has been conducted on emotional disorders is that early detection of these disorders is essential. Ideally, it is the parent who is in the best position to note these conditions as they begin. In practice, however, the parent is usually a poor judge of his children's emotional health. Because the parent sees his children constantly, he may not notice gradual deterioration in their adjustment. He is also so close to the situation—in fact, he may be such an important part of the situation—that he cannot see it objectively. Thus, the youngster who is shut out of child society and blames the aggressiveness or the snobbishness of his would-be playmates as the reason for his inability to get along with them often finds that his sympathetic parents accept the explanation. Similarly, the child who blames the teacher's unfairness or the arbitrariness of the school's standards for his difficulties at school is often encouraged by his parents' response to avoid looking for his own contribution to this unhappy state. When the parents are part of the child's difficulties, it is obvious that the parents will not see the problem. If, for example, the parent is overprotective or authoritarian, if he is unrealistic in the demands he makes of the youngster or in the standards he expects the child to achieve, or if he is rejecting the child, it is most unlikely that the parent will have sufficient insight to understand the youngster's difficulties.

Who can recognize the early manifestations of emotional difficulties? With young children, it is the pediatrician, especially the psychiatrically oriented one, who is in the best position to do so. When the child becomes of school age, it is the teacher who can best assume this responsibility.

To be sure, there is a danger in asking teachers to be alert to the early symptoms of emotional maladjustment. Unless the teacher has sufficient psychological background as a basis for gaining insight into the child's behavior, he may misinterpret the significance of the behavior he observes. He may either read far more significance into a child's actions than is warranted or he may fail to recognize symptoms of serious impending difficulties.

If the teacher is to go to either of these two extremes, it is better for him to overlook some instances of maladjustment than to over-estimate the seriousness of insignificant behavior problems or to attempt diagnosis and therapy he is not qualified to conduct. With emotional problems, as with physical ones, one must not under-estimate the child's ability to cure himself. Just as the body can correct many of its own ills, so can the child's emotional organiza-tion adjust itself to minor or temporary strains. Today's adults have not, for the most part, had the benefit of much psychological or psychiatric care when they were children. Some of them had unsympathetic parents or teachers, some were not accepted in child society, some were jealous of their siblings, and some failed to live up to the standards which others, or they themselves, had set. Though some of these adults now show the scars of these earlier emotional crises, the overwhelming majority of them have managed to achieve a degree of emotional adjustment that enables them to function as effective members of society. In his legitimate concern for the present and the future adjustment of today's child popula-tion, the teacher must be careful not to exaggerate the importance of minor deviations from perfect adjustment.

Which symptoms should a teacher watch for as indicative of emotional difficulties that bear careful scrutiny? There are at least three characteristics that are significant. First, it is important to see whether the child's responses to situations are disproportionate to the situation. Second, the teacher will have to observe the degree of permanence of the child's responses to a situation. Third, the teacher should be alert to the child's reactions which are out of touch with reality.

It is only natural that we should be pleased when we are success-ful and that we should feel depressed when our plans fail. There are infinite gradations, however, in the extent to which we are "pleased" or "depressed" and in the interpretation of "success" and "failure." There is, also, great variation in the way in which people react to success or failure. A high-school student who is not invited to join the school's leading fraternity may try to join another one; he may find other ways of satisfying his desire for companionship and the feeling of being accepted; he may decide that he will have nothing to do with other people; or he may conclude that life is

not worth living. Similarly, the elementary-school child who is not selected when the neighborhood youngsters choose up sides for a game may be nonchalant or deeply hurt. It is inevitable that every child should encounter both success and frustration to which he will react to some degree. It is when the reaction is disproportionate to the cause that the teacher should look into the child's background.

When we attempt to judge the appropriateness of the child's response, it is essential that we see the situation from the child's rather than the adult's point of view. Whether the high-school student joins Alpha Alpha or Beta Beta, or whether he joins any fraternity at all, may seem utterly trivial to the teacher or parent but may be of all-consuming importance in adolescent society. On the other hand, the teacher and the parent may be much more concerned than the child with the results of a test on the correct use of *who* and *whom*.

We must allow for the perfectly normal "very" reaction of the adolescent. Few adolescents react in the restrained fashion of their more prosaic parents and teachers. When the other girls are being invited to the Junior Prom, the girl who has not yet been asked is *very* sad, and when the telephone call finally does come, she is *very* happy. Because every situation in a full life means so much to adolescents, partly because they do not yet feel sufficiently secure in their position in either child or adult society, it is easy to understand their ascending to the heights of elation or going to the depths of despair at situations that rarely evoke such reactions in adults.

A second criterion for evaluating behavior is in terms of the duration of the reaction. Some alternation of mood is normal, but the student who is continually fluctuating between elation and depression, particularly if he goes to the extreme of each, is revealing an instability that may be significant. On the other hand, the student whose mood does not change may also need help. Thus, the child who does not forget his disappointments and remains depressed is not behaving in a way that is normal for those of his age. There is no formula for determining how long a mood should last, but any marked deviation deserves scrutiny to see whether it is significant.

All people are ready to ignore or to distort reality to some

extent when it is convenient to do so. It is the unusual motorist, for example, who admits his full share of the responsibility for the accident he almost had—and most golfers are not nearly so good as they think they are. In the same way, younger people, too, sometimes take liberty with reality. When they explain away all of their disappointments as though they were in no way responsible for them, they ordinarily know that the explanation is not entirely correct. It is when they do not realize the difference between reality and fiction that one has cause for concern. In extreme cases, there are those children who have visions, hear voices, or have other delusions. There are also the less extreme, but still serious, instances of children who really believe they have qualities they do not possess or who are convinced they are being discriminated against by others. This is, then, the third criterion for determining which children need help: When any person, child or adult, demonstrates by his behavior that he is seriously confusing phantasy and reality, he is clearly in need of professional assistance.

Helping the Disturbed Child. What can be done to help those children who need assistance in improving their adjustment? The teacher can do much for them, sometimes by the assistance he himself can offer. More often, the greater contribution is made by seeing that the youngster is referred to the appropriate agency for diagnosis and treatment.

Fortunately, there are many children with minor maladjustments who can be helped directly by the teacher, provided the teacher has the interest, the insight, and the time. Much that we regard as problem behavior is really a matter of habit formation, without deep-rooted emotional causation. Shyness and timidity, for example, may be symptomatic of a child's withdrawal from a society in which he feels he cannot compete successfully. On the other hand, they may be nothing more than habits of behavior. A sympathetic and understanding nursery-school teacher may provide the opportunities and the encouragement that can help the child learn how to get along with others and enjoy doing so. Similarly, a competent junior high school teacher can help the young adolescent overcome his shyness in getting along with members of the opposite sex, especially if the school affords ample opportunity for informal social contacts. There are numerous other instances that will occur to every experienced teacher of the ways in which the

school can help correct early manifestations of emotional difficulties or help develop more wholesome procedures by which the child can meet his problems.

No teacher need feel incompetent if he finds it necessary to enlist the aid of others in dealing with his students, for no teacher is likely to be able to deal with deeply rooted emotional problems. The teacher is not expected to have the clinical skills of a psychiatrist or psychologist. He does not have the facilities for making a thorough study of the child's background and of his present assets and liabilities. Moreover, the other members of the class have such valid claims upon the teacher's energy and time that he is not free to give the unadjusted child all the care he needs. There are limits to the teacher's ability to deal with all of the factors that may be contributing to the child's problems. Moreover, a corrective program takes time, and most teachers go on to a new class before serious difficulties are sufficiently improved to warrant severing the relationship.

When the difficulty is too great for the teacher to deal with himself, there should be other people and agencies to which he can turn for assistance. When administrators abandon the outmoded idea that having an emotionally disturbed pupil in class is a reflection upon a teacher's competence, they can become helpful. The principal, for example, being removed from the immediate classroom situation, may be in a better position to evaluate classroom incidents that may be annoying to the teacher without being of great emotional significance to the child's development. The principal's prestige often enables him to get far more co-operation from the family and makes it easier, too, to call upon community agencies for assistance. Also, the principal can make school adjustments to help the child that are far beyond the teacher's authority to prescribe.

Schools which have psychologists, skilled guidance counselors, or social workers have learned that these specialists can often improve a child's adjustment so much that later clinical treatment is unnecessary. Even when clinical services are available, the clinicians can benefit many more children if part of the time of the psychologists and psychiatrists is available for consultations with teachers and other specialists on the school staff so that they, in turn, may work more effectively with the children they are serving.

There is, however, no effective substitute for the child guidance clinic in helping the seriously disturbed child who does not require institutional treatment. Bringing together the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the social worker, the clinic is able to marshal its resources for a thoroughgoing analysis of the child's difficulties and for planning and conducting the therapeutic program. It is characteristic of the procedures of the child guidance clinic that no one of these specialists considers himself competent to diagnose alone or to treat alone. Ordinarily, it is only by means of staff conferences in which all of these specialists participate that a plan of treatment is evolved. There is a lesson in humility for all amateur psychiatrists and amateur psychologists in the fact that, after all of these experienced specialists have studied the child's problems and background and have had an opportunity to discuss each other's findings, all that the clinical staff dares do is to arrive at a tentative diagnosis and a tentative plan of treatment. There are other staff conferences periodically in order to evaluate the child's progress and to make needed changes in the therapeutic program.

The major drawback to the use of the child guidance clinic is that it is so expensive to operate. To be sure, it is much less expensive to maintain such a clinic than to provide prolonged institutionalization later. There is, moreover, no way of measuring the inestimable value of the lives that are saved from disabling defects or of the social and personal gains that accrue from such improvement in mental health.

If existing clinics are to function at optimum effectiveness, the referrals must be handled wisely. It is wasteful to have such inadequate clinical facilities that they are available only for the extremely disturbed children for whom the clinics can do relatively little. It makes far better sense to expand clinical services so that they can give the needed help before it is too late. We need, also, to expand the psychological and counseling services so that assistance can be given early enough to prevent the child from becoming a prospective case for a clinic. And we need teachers with such insight into mental hygiene that they can provide the wholesome classroom climate and the understanding sympathy that all children deserve and that are essential for developing sound emotional health in all our children.

The Challenge to Teachers

This emphasis upon mental hygiene is a logical extension of the trends in modern education, with their increasing emphasis upon the development of each child as an individual having his own needs and abilities. Every enlightened teacher today is aware of the importance of understanding his students' personal emotional needs. What mental hygiene does is to help the teacher understand these needs and see how to provide for them. Mental hygiene in education makes a great contribution when, by improving and expanding our educational procedures and offerings, it leads to a reduction in the incidence of mental illness and minimizes the destructive force of less severe emotional handicaps. Probably its greatest contribution to education is the help it gives to teachers who are trying to assist all their students to achieve emotional maturity, for our world today is so complex and so unyielding in its demands that only the emotionally mature are equal to the responsibilities we must assume. Mental hygiene in education thus offers teachers a great challenge and opportunity.

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Many-Sided Aspects of Mental Health *

RUTH STRANG

As teachers live day by day with their pupils, they become aware of innumerable opportunities to contribute to their mental health. They try to understand the pupils as individuals, to provide the experiences they need, to guide as they teach, and to recognize danger signs of maladjustment.

Such a constructive influence on children does not "just happen"; it stems from understanding. A first-grade teacher, knowing that Susie has been deprived of a mother's affection, treats her with extra warmth and consideration. A fifth-grade teacher, who understands that Jim's clowning in class stems from his lack of self-esteem, plays down competition and tries to appraise the child's work with reference to his capacity. He also helps Jim gain some insight into the reasons why he behaves as he does.

Undoubtedly, it is helpful for a teacher to see how others have handled specific situations and how they have helped pupils indi-

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vidually and in groups to view daily school situations realistically and to meet them constructively. But it is also important for teachers to understand the complexity of mental health in education. They should recognize the influence of the child's bodily condition, cultural sanctions, school policies and methods, interpersonal relations, and emotional factors in home, school, and community. The feeling-tone in any educational situation, the underlying attitudes of adults toward the children, and the way in which the children perceive the situation may promote or hinder the children's chances of achieving the best possible mental health. Moreover, time past and time future are both influencing a child's behavior in the present moment.

The Teacher as Member of a Professional Team

Fortunately, the teacher is not alone in working for the mental health of children and young people. He is an important member of a multiprofessional team. His work is part of a pattern of principles and practices; it is reinforced and supplemented by persons in many fields: pediatricians, other physicians, and nurses; psychiatrists; psychologists; social workers; group workers and sociologists; semanticists, speech correctionists, and remedial teachers; anthropologists; judges in juvenile courts; and leaders in the field of religion and parent education.

To work most effectively with these other members of the team, the teacher needs to be acquainted with their different languages, their significant insights, their specific services. Then the teacher will recognize the contributions of the various fields and the growing interrelations among them. His work will be enriched by the insights of these other professional people.

To bring out more clearly the complexity of mental health and the possible contributions to it from professions other than teaching, the views of leaders in other fields were solicited. They were asked to give (a) their views as to the contribution of their profession to mental health in education, and (b) any relevant illustrations and references. Their thoughtful replies, supplemented by printed sources, supplied original and significant information on the many-sided aspects of fostering the mental health of children and young people in the schools.

In this chapter some of their concepts will be summarized and, to some extent, synthesized. Their conflicting points of view will be described but not resolved; and their services to the schools will be briefly mentioned. Teachers and parents should subject these concepts to the test of common sense, based on their own observation of children. Then the danger of misuse and misinterpretation will be avoided.[1]

How Pediatricians, Physicians, and Nurses May Help

Many of the guiding principles and points of view of pediatrics would exert a favorable influence on the mental health of children, if they were planted in the hearts and minds of parents and teachers. Writing in July, 1953, Benjamin Spock said, "It is only in the past ten years that we have been trying to graft onto pediatrics or fuse into it some psychological concepts borrowed from the analytic psychiatrists and the progressive educators."

In addition to emphasizing the newer knowledge of nutrition and medicine, pediatricians now recognize the importance for later mental health of the loving care and attention which mothers give to their infants. The detrimental effect of separation from the mother or mother substitute in the first two years of life has been demonstrated by research and shown convincingly in films. Equally important is the emphasis on guiding the child gradually and gently into the ways of civilized life, instead of forcing him prematurely to achieve bowel and bladder control and other adjustments contrary to his natural rhythms and dynamic growth process.

Modern emphases in pediatrics are admirably summarized in the three main themes of the International Seminar on Mental Health and Infant Development held at Chichester, Sussex, England, July 19 to August 10, 1952: "The importance of the early years for *total* development . . ."; "the severe damage which can be done to a child by a disturbance in the continuity of its relationship with its mother, or mother substitute"; and "the importance of learning to live, rear children to live, and practice our various disciplines in a world which is continuously changing."[2] The seminar also emphasized the father's role in the young child's world.

[1] Earl J. Simburg, "The Misuse and Abuse of Certain Mental-Hygiene Concepts," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXVI (October, 1952), 590-99.

[2] Margaret Mead, "Sharing Child Development Insights around the Globe," *Understanding the Child*, XXI (October, 1952), 101.

Parents and pediatricians help the child to get off to a good start. The pediatrician deals with the child in the family setting. As an educator of parents as well as a specialist in child health, he makes a most important contribution to the mental health of the child. The pediatrician's services were summarized by Langford as follows:

1. To help the mother establish an emotional atmosphere in the home which satisfies the child's basic psychological needs.

2. To guide the infant in his earliest relationship to the outside world, as for example in the psychological aspects of feeding.

3. To prevent parents from demanding accomplishments beyond the child's stage of development and out of line with his own best rate of growth.

4. To modify parental attitudes which seem to be associated with certain unfortunate types of personality structure. For example, excessively inhibited, tense, and fearful children are often found to have parents who tend to be cold, restrained, repressive, inconsistent in discipline, unsocial.[3]

Two emphases in modern medicine in general have special significance for the mental health of pupils and teachers. The psychosomatic emphasis in medicine has been growing rapidly.[4] It is now recognized that psychological disturbances give rise to many illnesses. Emotional tensions, intensified by some frustrating situation, prolonged emotional wear and tear, persistent hostility, unconscious rages, the drive for prestige and power, or unfulfilled desires for love and care tend to be associated with certain kinds of diseases such as gastric ulcer, asthma, and cardio-vascular disturbances. The physician, chemist, neurophysiologist, psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker are beginning to work together to gain understanding of the complex causation of illness, and of ways of treating it.

In dealing with cardiac disorders, for example, the physician recognizes that intense or long-continued emotion may cause heart symptoms. After a thorough medical examination, the doctor may say positively to the patient, "You do not have a heart disease." But that is not enough. He must help the patient understand why he has these symptoms and the need which they serve. Often the

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[3] William S. Langford, "The Professional Person—A Mental-Hygiene Resource: In Medicine," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (April, 1950), 262-65.

[4] Reynold A. Jensen, "Relationships between Physical and Mental Health," *Review of Educational Research*, XIX (December, 1949), 371-78.

patient needs to set himself a suitable task, accomplish it, and get satisfaction from his achievement. Sometimes he needs to learn how to handle tension-arousing situations. But the physician should not stir up anxiety unless he can do something about it.

The second emphasis is on the effect of bodily conditions on emotional health. We have often experienced indications of the relation between physical condition and mental state, as for example increased irritability when we have not had enough sleep. Support of the physical-chemical theory of mental disease is accumulating. Overactivity of the adrenal glands and underactivity of the thyroid and the sex glands have been associated with mental disorders. Damage to the nerve cells in the brain may likewise be a major factor in certain mental diseases. Moreover, as Ralph Linton pointed out in a talk before the New York Academy of Medicine, the fact that mental disease is prevalent in all cultures, even in those which have psychologically favorable familial and societal conditions, gives support to the physical-chemical theory. This does not eliminate the influence of learning; nor does it mean, of course, that strains and stresses in the environment may not precipitate or intensify manifestions of mental disease arising from bodily conditions. Much more needs to be learned about the relations between physical-chemical and psychological factors.

In the meantime, one condition common to many teachers is fatigue. In general, teachers need to relax and avoid overfatigue. They should give more attention to proper nutrition and other health habits which foster mental health and learn to live within their energy resources. They should also be alert to the possibility of emotional causes of headache, digestive upsets, and other illness among their pupils and be informed regarding possible physical causes of emotional disturbance.

The nurse "supplements the physician's supervision." But she contributes in other ways to the preventive mental-health program. The nurse has often "been the main link between home and school, gathering valuable information for the teacher, interpreting school policies to the family, helping both parent and teacher to understand the child better and thereby handle him better. In this work she has been a potent aid to mental health." [5]

[5] Benjamin Spock, "Schools Are a Fertile Field for Mental-Health Efforts," *The Child*, XV (August-September, 1950), 110.

The public health nurse contributes to the health guidance of the family over long periods of time. Positive health as well as disease prevention is her province. She is concerned with food for the family and with infant care. By allaying the expectant mother's normal fears of pregnancy, she can help provide for the child a more secure, accepting home environment. The nurse "gives the mother information about child development, helps to prevent preschool behavior problems, . . . [is] a family health counselor who can help the family with their everyday problems." [6]

Social Workers as Family Consultants

Social workers in schools and in community agencies perform many services that contribute to the mental health of families. They find foster homes for motherless children, give financial assistance to a deserted wife and her family, offer counseling service to people troubled over their marital relationships, and arrange for recreational activities for adolescents in delinquent neighborhoods. They "help a less adequate person begin to deal with his problems more satisfactorily." [7] Improved adjustment of adults affects favorably the adjustment of the children.

The school social worker or visiting teacher "brings to her work a training in interviewing and in dealing with human relations." [8] In three important ways the social worker contributes to mental health in education: by helping to improve emotional relations in the home, by helping the pupils referred to her make better adjustments to home and school conditions, and by increasing teachers' understanding of children and adolescents through participation in case conferences and through co-operation with teachers on individual cases.

The psychiatric social worker is a most important member of a clinic team. With her knowledge of the dynamics of behavior in the family and community setting, she thus fuses individual psychology with the social work point of view.

[6] Eleanor Gochanour, "The Professional Person—A Mental-Hygiene Resource: In Nursing," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (April, 1950), 265-69.

[7] Ruth Fizdale, "The Professional Person—A Mental-Hygiene Resource: In Social Work," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (April, 1950), 269-73.

[8] Spock, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

The Role of the Psychiatrist

Psychiatry and education have common goals. In recent years the interest of psychiatrists has been shifting from mental disorders to everyday problems of adjustment and to "the problems of a sick society." At the same time teachers are becoming more concerned with helping pupils cope with life situations, live abundantly, and be of service to society. These common goals bring psychiatry and education closer together. "Psychiatry and education have much in common. Both have the primary aim of helping the individual adjust to life. In a physician-patient relationship, there is much teaching and learning. In the teacher-student relationship, there is much need for skill in harnessing emotional drives." [9]

A parallel may be pointed out between the mental-health atmosphere of the right kind of psychiatric hospital and that of the best type of classroom. This effect depends upon (a) the general attitude of all persons who come in contact with the patient, (b) their specific attitudes toward him, and (c) the selection of procedures which "fit the patient's psychological needs . . . defined, when possible, after psychiatric study of the particular case." [10] Continuing the analogy based on Menninger's description of procedures in a psychiatric hospital, we can see how the school might provide for the seriously disturbed child (a) an outlet for aggression and feelings of guilt in woodworking, vigorous games, and the like; (b) opportunities to earn love by assuming responsibility and making contributions to others; (c) opportunities for creative work and play—painting, music, the dance, and dramatics—in which he may act out his fantasies; and (d) advantageous relationship with an understanding, friendly teacher.

The psychiatrist presents himself as a helping person. Teachers, as well as many other persons, need to learn to think of the psychiatrist as a warm, friendly human being, concerned with helping people use their psychological energy to best advantage. They need to realize that he has the technical knowledge and skill to help

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[9] William C. Menninger, "Mental Health in Our Schools," *Educational Leadership*, VII (May, 1950), 510.

[10] Karl A. Menninger, *A Manual for Psychiatric Case Study*, p. 118. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1952.

people use their own insights and sound judgments in preventing or solving emotional problems.

A number of psychiatrists have described the healthy personality. Included in their descriptions are the following qualities: ability to relate one's self to others with success and satisfaction; ability to use one's energy in worth-while work and objective interests; ability to meet the inevitable frustrations and disappointments of life without emotional turmoil. "It is a personality that is expanding and has infinite capacity for continued growth. It is a personality that is mature in outlook, outreach, and reactions. Finally the healthy personality is one in which the many parts sustain a reasonable balance and harmony." [11]

Following are some insights from psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and clinical psychology, especially helpful to teachers:

1. During infancy and babyhood "the basic personality structure and patterns of behavior are laid down. It is during this period that the groundwork is laid for later mental health or ill health." [12]

2. "Seeking for [various forms of physical] gratification is an instinctive drive in every person and cannot be ignored." [13] While recognizing the value of permissiveness, especially during the first two years of life, most psychiatrists agree that there comes a time when the child must learn that certain behavior is not socially acceptable and that he cannot always have what he wants when he wants it. Some frustration is an inevitable part of life. Normal children need to learn to tolerate and handle a reasonable amount of "inescapable frustration." In a culture demanding inhibitions, an individual who acts solely on his impulses often hurts himself and other people. Methods of extreme permissiveness, necessary in the first stages of treatment of seriously disturbed children, have sometimes been applied indiscriminately to all children. "Permissiveness without purpose" is highly frustrating to children.

3. Parents' attitudes are related to children's behavior. The understanding of this relation which psychiatrists have gained [14] is useful to teachers. Without this understanding, teachers may unwittingly rein-

[11] Leonard W. Mayo, "Using the Usable in Guiding Children," *National Parent-Teacher*, XLVII (September, 1952), 27.

[12] William C. Menninger, *Psychiatry*, pp. 52-53. New York: Cornell University Press, 1948.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[14] Alexander Reid Martin, "Parents' Attitudes—Children's Behavior," *National Parent-Teacher*, XLVII (September, 1952), 4-6+.

force the unfavorable parental attitudes of rejection, deprivation, over-protection, or exploitation. For example, the child may feel "left out" in school just as he does at home. It is often the most unappealing child who is in most need of love. With such a child, the teacher should be especially "giving" and accepting and see to it that he has things to do that make him feel competent and helpful. Kanner [15] described adults who have the most favorable attitude toward the child as having "a healthy capacity for maintaining a warm relationship with him. They neither reject nor overprotect him, but try to assess the extent of his abilities and limitations, and make realistic provisions for his education and his future." [16]

4. An unrecognized part of our personality—the unconscious—"motivates much of our behavior." [17] It has been likened to an iceberg, the major part of which is below the surface. Although not recognized, these submerged, suppressed desires influence present behavior. The aim of psychoanalytical treatment is to bring these unconscious motivations to the surface so that the person can learn to handle them in a rational way.

5. How a child feels may be more important than what he does or how he does it. Psychiatrists and psychologists have been emphasizing increasingly the importance of understanding "the language of behavior" —how the situation looks to the child and what his behavior means to him. Teachers should "learn to listen more and talk less." Their under-standing and guidance in the classroom will help the pupil "adjust better to the difficulties that he meets and also help him gain an understanding of himself." [18]

6. A reciprocal relation exists between emotional problems and learning. "Psychiatry has contributed to the understanding of the relationship between emotional disturbances and the learning process. In some instances, the basic emotional disturbance creates a barrier to the learning process, and, in other instances, the child's difficulties in making normal school progress create emotional disturbances. An example of the latter is the disturbance frequently encountered in children with reading deficiencies. Many emotional problems result from the pressures exerted upon these children by parents, teachers, and others, or from the children's own frustrations." [19]

[15] Leo Kanner, "The Emotional Quandaries of Exceptional Children," *Helping Parents Understand the Exceptional Child*, pp. 21-28. Langhorne, Pennsylvania: Woods Schools, May, 1952.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[17] Menninger, *Psychiatry*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[18] Mandel Sherman, unpublished letter to the author.

[19] *Ibid.*

7. Early diagnosis of mental illness is of the utmost importance. Following are some of the danger signs of incipient mental illness of which the teacher should be aware: (*a*) readily recognized extremely aggressive and antisocial behavior, (*b*) often-overlooked shyness, extreme withdrawal tendencies, overconscientiousness, (*c*) discrepancy between intellectual ability and school achievement, and (*d*) "sudden changes in attitudes, feelings, behavior, and scholarship." [20]

The psychiatrist has much to say to the teacher as a person. Teaching is a profession that taxes emotional maturity; it requires a large proportion of giving to others. Yet a balance must be maintained between giving and receiving. Friendships and harmonious family relations help to maintain this balance. Self-understanding and objective study of one's living conditions should lead to desirable changes in the environment, a changed attitude toward unalterable circumstances, or both. [21]

Adults can change. Change comes through self-understanding and self-acceptance. The adult can gain self-insight by observing himself in group relations and noting others' responses to him, and by "talking it out" with a person who not only listens sympathetically, but "can mirror for the speaker the deeper meaning of himself." [22] By cultivating this understanding, and also by associating with people who have worked out better ways of living, he may develop more effective ways of handling his life situations.

The psychiatric service most frequently recognized is the diagnosis and treatment of individual cases referred to the psychiatrist. Such consultant service is needed for students who are baffling to teachers or administrators and who cannot be adequately helped by the counseling service available in the school.

A psychiatric team within a school system can handle referral and treatment of cases efficiently. But there must also be a real effort to carry the meaning of the child's problem back to the principal and the teacher who made the referral so that they can learn how to do their part for the child and others like him. In addition, the psychiatric staff

[20] Rudolph G. Novick, "How Teachers Can Build Mental Health," *Today's Health*, XXIX (November, 1951), 26.

[21] William C. Menninger, "Self-Understanding for Teachers," *N.E.A. Journal*, XLII (September, 1953), 331.

[22] Robert L. Sutherland, *Can an Adult Change?* Austin, Texas: Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, University of Texas (unpaged, undated).

can provide for more formal training for the teachers, administrators, and nurses. The emphasis in such training should be on normal emotional development and the meaning of common minor disturbances rather than on the more serious diseases. [23]

This emphasis on normal emotional development is likewise important in colleges. Psychiatric service should be allied with guidance and the student health department. The psychiatrist working in a college should (a) learn about the college community and co-operate with other members of the staff, (b) work with students and their families so that they will make the most of their college years, (c) be sensitive to the impression which his work is making on faculty members, and help them grow in understanding, and (d) be an effective therapist.[24]

Psychiatry helps teachers look at a student's problem behavior as the culmination of his life experiences up to that time and as his way of coping with conditions that are harming or threatening him.

Some Contributions of Psychologists

Clinical Psychologists. Since the insights and services of the clinical psychologist and the counselor overlap with the psychiatric points of view already described, less space here will be devoted to the latter. Only a few additional ideas will be briefly summarized: [25]

1. Since ineffective behavior is learned, it is not irremediable. Throughout the life span, under favorable conditions, constructive behavior can replace unsatisfying and maladaptive behavior. (See chap. iii for a detailed discussion of the role of learning in neurotic and psychotic adjustments.)

2. Psychological studies have emphasized the importance of the wholeness of behavior. "The emotional state of each child and his personal life adjustment are necessarily important considerations in any learning process." [26]

3. An individual's behavior is largely determined by his self-concept.

[23] Spock, *op. cit.,* p. 110.

[24] Committee on Academic Education of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, "The Role of Psychiatrists in Colleges and Universities," Report No. 17, pp. 1-7. Topeka, Kansas: The Committee (3617 West Sixth Ave.), September, 1950.

[25] Many of these are condensed from an unpublished letter from Paul Eiserer.

[26] Charles A. Curran, "Guidance and Counseling in Education," *Education,* LXXIII (December, 1952), 223-28.

This self-concept, in turn, is influenced by each new experience. A reasonable regard for one's self is associated with improved adjustment, favorable attitudes toward others, understanding and insight, and maturity of behavior.[27]

4. Techniques for the early diagnosis and treatment of problems of adjustment have been critically studied by psychologists and psychiatrists. Some of these techniques, such as play therapy, sociodrama, group therapy, and counseling, may be used in modified form in classroom settings. Further study may determine their usefulness as techniques in promoting self-understanding and sensitivity to others.

5. The importance of the attitude of the therapist using the techniques has been established. A similar relationship between teacher attitudes and children's learning is implied. A sincere and spontaneous positive relationship is the foundation of mental health in the classroom.

An original critical analysis of the psychoanalytical point of view was presented by Mowrer.[28] Conflict leading to neurosis is generally interpreted as being between the *id,* or instinctual force or drive, and the *super ego* or conscience—that is, between biological impulses and social fears. Mowrer has emphasized the importance of releasing into consciousness repressed forces of the super ego. In this way the direct conscious expression of the individual is strengthened. Discipline is eventually to the individual's advantage. "Is not the key to neurosis and its effective treatment and prevention more likely to be found along the lines of helping the young, the immature, the neurotic to learn ways of resolving these inevitable conflicts integratively, constructively, characterfully, instead of in ways which, in the long run, will be both personally self-defeating and socially objectionable and burdensome?" [29]

Experimental Psychologists. Principles of mental hygiene suggested by experimental psychologists are tested by clinical psychologists with reference to the "whole person." Conversely, the insights of clinical psychologists should be put to the test of controlled experimentation.[30]

[27] Victor C. Raimy, "Self Reference in Counseling Interviews," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* XII (May-June, 1948), 153-63.

[28] O. H. Mowrer, "Neurosis: A Disorder of Conditioning or Problem Solving?" *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* LVI (February, 1953), 273-88.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 286.

[30] Laurance F. Shaffer, "Experimental Contributions to Mental Hygiene," *Review of Educational Research,* XVI (December, 1946), 429-35; and XIX (December, 1949), 379-85.

Following are a few of the insights that have been expressed by experimental psychology:

1. Anxiety can be attached to harmless stimuli, is increased by a sense of helplessness, and may act as a strong drive.

2. Persons may continue in a "self-defeating course of behavior without ever discovering that a co-operative attitude will be more rewarding eventually." [31] For example, a child who wants to be well liked and popular may withdraw from people or be so aggressive and provoking that they avoid him.

3. Under threatening conditions, when much is at stake and competition strong, students tend to do less well on tests and to remember less than under relaxed and socially motivated conditions.[32]

4. The person's needs, experiences, and stresses in the environment or within himself influence the way in which he views his world; his perception of a situation, in turn, influences his adjustment to it.

5. Children chosen by others on a sociometric test tend to make better adjustment scores on personality tests than do the less esteemed pupils.

Experimental work must be continued. New discoveries, new evidence, new conceptions, and new theories of mental health will continue to be developed. However, the "accumulation of scientific evidence and information in itself does not lead to changed human behavior. To be effective, the teacher should be both a discoverer and a user of knowledge." [33]

School Psychologists. Against a background of clinical and experimental insights the school psychologist works directly with school children and with teachers.

"Intelligence-testing, achievement-testing, diagnosis of disabilities, and remedial work are all basic to understanding and planning for the child's educational and emotional needs. The psychologist's usefulness, like that of other workers with children, depends most on his soundness in understanding and handling the emotional aspects of their problems." [34] The psychologist's work in a school system varies with his position. If he serves as a member of the staff

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[32] Thelma G. Alper, "Memory for Completed and Incompleted Tasks as a Function of Personality: An Analysis of Group Data," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLI (October, 1946), 403-20.

[33] Paul Eiserer, unpublished letter to the author.

[34] Spock, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

of a child guidance clinic, working with psychiatrists, pediatricians, social workers, he will do intensive diagnosis and treatment in the vast field of education. Through group psychological tests he is able to assist teachers in understanding the learning capacity and achievement of all the pupils in their classes. Through individual psychological examinations, he obtains much information about the child's personality, attitudes and behavior, functioning mental ability, and possible explanations of his lack of optimum adjustment in school. He selects other tests to meet individual needs. When the psychologist works in an individual school he has to deal, if there are no other specialists, with multiple difficulties so often associated with reading and other educational disabilities. By working with teachers on individual cases referred to him and by participating in case conferences, study groups, workshops, and other kinds of in-service education, the psychologist contributes to the preventive mental-health program.

Child Psychologists. While recognizing the importance of the early years for mental health, child psychologists stress the quality of experience at each stage of development. At every age the child has certain problems to solve before he can move ahead to the next stage of development. The building of one's most acceptable self is the most important developmental task of childhood. The child should feel that he is continually growing and having some influence on the direction of his growth. "Failure in a developmental task and emotional disturbance are positively correlated: the earlier the failure, the deeper the disturbance." [35] Approaches to children should vary with the age of the child.

The following are some additional insights stated by Ralph Ojemann and other child psychologists:

1. The child and adult should feel a mutual respect and responsibility for each other. As the child grows older, he should be concerned about how the teacher and parent feel.

2. At any given moment, multiple motivations are operating. The child is sensitive to the elements of self-respect and security in the situation. The group's response to an individual may either build up or tear down his self-esteem. Anxiety is created by failure to live up to the expectations of one's family, or of a larger group. Command of

[35] Caroline Tryon, quoted by V. E. Olson, University of Michigan Conference.

some skill needed by the group helps to improve a child's attitude toward himself and others.

3. Teachers should appreciate and be sensitive to the dynamics of child behavior. They should look beneath the surface. Adults should have gained some awareness of the causes of behavior before they became parents or teachers.

4. It is important to use a child's strengths, rather than to keep him constantly working at the reading, arithmetic, or spelling which he cannot do. The child becomes frustrated and confused "if a parent or teacher continually stimulates [him] to activity for which he is unready, at which he fails, and for which he receives disapproval." [36]

5. Conditions can be provided in which the individual may change himself. Consequently, there is hope for children who come from destructive environments. For them the teacher can create more favorable conditions under which the anxieties resulting from tense home situations will be lessened, and the children can realize their potentialities. It is better to change the person's environment than to try to change the person directly. To try to change a child is a subtle way of rejecting him.

The child psychologist's view of mental health as part of the total development of the child is sound and helpful to teachers and parents.

Insights of Anthropologists and Sociologists

Mental health is influenced by social conditions as well as by the individual's predispositions and habits. The form of government, the state of world conditions and relationships, one's socioeconomic and class status, and the particular customs of the culture (especially those concerned with child training), all exert varying degrees of influence on individuals.[37] For example, the effects of war on the mental health of children varied with the intensity of the fear and anxiety experiences and the quality of the family relationships maintained.

Many examples of the influence of the culture upon personality development have been reported by anthropologists. One tribe develops taciturn, individualistic adults; another, adults who are warm and sociable, but insecure. The people of two other tribes, both

[36] Willard C. Olson, "Child Needs and the Curriculum," *Educational Leadership*, VI (January, 1949), 4.

[37] Ralph H. Ojemann, "Mental Health in Community Life," *Review of Educational Research*, XIX (December, 1949), 395-404.

economically insecure, do not show marked anxiety, possibly because both groups refuse to face reality. Many kinds of cultural differences affect the development of anxiety symptoms. Kluckhohn and Leighton [38] emphasized the importance of building on the existing attitudes and beliefs of a people.

An individual's response to a situation is determined by the way he perceives it. Thus, for example, an adolescent's adjustment was found to be affected by his family's *attitude* toward its social status as well as by its *actual* social position. The way a person perceives a situation may be determined objectively by the dominant quality of the situation itself, by the individual's subjective attitudes and values, and by social traditions, customs, and values. These give rise to "socially determined norms" that may influence the individual when he is alone as well as when he is in the group.[39]

Cultural influences are of two kinds: (*a*) those "which derive from the culturally patterned behavior of other individuals toward the child . . . of paramount importance during infancy" and (*b*) those "which derive from the individual's observation of, or instruction in, the patterns of behavior characteristic of his society."[40] In dealing with emotional disturbances, it is helpful to know the complex of attitudes and customs out of which the individual has developed his present personality. Different groups within our culture have different ways of solving their problems and adjusting to their world.

One of the mental-health problems recognized by sociologists and anthropologists is that of maintaining a balance "between cultural requirements and individual needs." Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University has gained from his studies the impression "that children seem to be able to adapt to practically any social or cultural situation, no matter how bizarre, so long as their roles are clearly defined by the society, enabling them to learn these roles in terms of specific behavior patterns."[41] For example, the Hutterites'

[38] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothy Leighton, *The Navaho.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1946.

[39] Muzafer Sherif, *A Study of Some Social Factors in Perception.* Archives of Psychology No. 187. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

[40] Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality,* p. 140. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945.

[41] Ralph Linton, unpublished letter to the author.

life is hard but regulated by clearly defined, well-understood, and simple behavior standards. As children and adults, they seem to be nearly free from emotional turmoil.[42]

The child is affecting as well as being affected by his culture; he helps to create his environment. "Social change is man-made and so can be man-directed. . . . Change may be as 'natural' and 'good' as lack of change. . . . [Children] could regard change not as a feared catastrophe but as a privileged human environment in which they continue to grow all their lives."[43] Instability in society does not necessarily produce unstable individuals.

Anthropologists and sociologists, like psychiatrists and psychologists, emphasize the importance of the early years for mental health.

A cultural system which provides only capricious and inadequate satisfaction of the child's basic needs during the first two years of life, or so, may produce a fundamental insecurity and anxiety which is never completely overcome in later life. For example, DuBois and Kardiner have demonstrated quite convincingly that the diffuse, suspicious, unambitious personality of the adult Alorese is more than casually connected with the fact that the infants of this group are nursed at irregular intervals, disciplined in an unsystematic manner, left uncovered at one time and almost smothered with bodily protection at others, picked up and caressed or left to cry unattended, as the parent or nurse feels the mood.[44]

However, as Kluckhohn pointed out:

No arbitrary change, divorced from the general emphases of the culture, in methods of child rearing will suddenly alter adult personalities in a desired direction. . . . [It seems clear that] the over-all pattern for personality can be understood only in terms of total childhood experience *plus* the situational pressures of adult life. It may well be, as the psycholanalysts claim, that maximum indulgence of the child in the preverbal period is correlated with a secure, well-adjusted personality. However, this can be regarded only as a foundation not as a promise of fulfillment. The Navaho child receives every gratification in the first

[42] Joseph W. Eaton, "Controlled Acculturation: A Survival Technique of the Hutterites," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (June, 1952), 331-40.

[43] Margaret Mead, "Technological Change and Child Development," *Understanding the Child*, XXI (October, 1952), 111.

[44] John Gillin, "Personality Formation from the Comparative Cultural Point of View," in *Sociological Foundations of the Psychiatric Disorders of Children*," p. 22. Edited by Irene S. Seipt. New York: Raymond Service, Inc., 1945.

two years of life. But adult Navahos manifest a very high level of anxiety. This is largely a response to the reality situation; in terms of their present difficulties as a people they are realistically worried and suspicious.

These situational factors and cultural patterns are jointly responsible for the fact that each culture has its pet mental disturbances.[45]

Sorokin places special emphasis upon the influences of socio-cultural conditions and standards:

Many studies of the causes of mental disease, especially of various psychoneuroses, have shown that these disorders are due, to a great extent, to sociocultural conditions. In a world where social order and cultural values are unintegrated, psychoneuroses tend to increase with the accompanying disorganization of the personality. This is induced by the complexity and self-contradiction of the respective social and cultural structures, by sudden shocks, by too brusque a passage from one set of social conditions to another.[46]

Contribution of General Semantics

The value of general semantics—the study of the relation between language and human behavior—to mental health was emphatically expressed by Stuart Chase in the following concise paragraph:

I am convinced that the habit of semantic analysis can improve the mental health of most individuals of any age. The earlier it is acquired, the easier and better. One effect is to encourage an objective analysis of a problem, whether personal or impersonal, emotional or otherwise. Semantics shows the way to reduce the emotive content of highly charged words and phrases. It helps in forming a critical, skeptical attitude and a spirit of tolerance. . . . Often a teacher without special training can give students some of the same advantages [as persons trained in semantics] because he happens to be blessed with delayed reactions and an analytical mind.[47]

The student should learn something about the different uses to which words are put, and should gain practice in all of these. "This will aid him in recognizing the importance of appraisals and evalua-

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[45] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, pp. 199-200, 201. New York: Whittelesey House, 1949.

[46] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, pp. 343-45. New York: Harper & Bros., 1947.

[47] Stuart Chase, unpublished letter to the author.

tions as well as mere informative statements and give him some skill in making appraisals and controlling them by evidence." [48]

According to Wendell Johnson, the distinctive contribution of general semantics is as follows:

It formulates the *method* of science in a way that makes reasonably clear the possibilities of its application to our personal and social problems. It presents this method, in fact, as a design for living in the everyday sense of the word. It attempts to cut through the bewildering overgrowth of elaborate theory and technicality, and so to reveal the heartening simplicity of the few notions, pinciples, and techniques that make up the fundamentals of science.[49]

We all know that talking often relieves tensions. There is a positive relationship between neurotic behavior and communication: neurotic behavior tends to decrease as communication increases. This is understandable, because "most thinking and overt behavior actually are controlled by symbols. . . . Words become meaningful through experience. . . . Meanings are personal, reflecting the individual's feelings and his environment." [50] Unless words conform to reality, they will distort behavior.

Faulty use of language may give rise to such maladjustments as the following:

1. An unrealistic idea of one's self.
2. Feelings of inferiority resulting from being labeled "dumb," "a behavior problem," "a reading problem." In connection with stuttering, Wendell Johnson presented evidence that being diagnosed as a stutterer and so labeled damages the child's concept of himself and of the way adults regard him.[51]
3. Anticipation of failure, stemming from negative concepts of one's self and the situation.

[48] Charles Morris, unpublished letter to the author, 1953.

[49] Wendell Johnson, *People in Quandaries*, p. 386. New York: Harper & Bros., 1946.

[50] Harry Camp, Jr., "How Language Affects Behavior," *Education*, LXX (April, 1950), 471-91.

[51] Wendell Johnson, "An Open Letter to the Mother of a Stuttering Child." Reprinted in Appendix of *Speech-Handicapped School Children* by Wendell Johnson, Spencer Brown, C. W. Edaly, James F. Curtis, and Jacqueline Keaster. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948.) Chap. ii, "The Clinical Point of View in Education," sets forth important principles of mental hygiene to be applied by classroom teachers. Copies available also from the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

4. Increased insecurity and anxiety arising from failure to recognize that problems are "natural" and common to many people.
5. Behavior inappropriate to the situation. Reacting to a part of the situation instead of to the situation as a whole may lead to an inadequate and unhappy response. "Failing to differentiate sufficiently between past and present, between one situation, person, or experience and another" may lead one to react "similarily and thus inappropriately on quite different occasions." [52]
6. Instability and indecision resulting from relying on authority of various kinds instead of on the resources within one's self.

Some semanticists relate language both to psychology and sociology. "Language plays a double role. On the one hand, it tends to mold the structure of the culture in which the individual is to find his opportunities and limitations. On the other hand, it is the chief medium whereby the individual interiorizes the culture structure, and so acquires personality that reflects, for better or for worse, the society in which he lives." [53]

Literature is one of the available resources for learning to feel appropriately in life situations. It "introduces us to new sources of delight, . . . makes us feel that we are not alone in our misery, . . . shows us our problem in a new light, . . . suggests new possibility for [us] and opens new areas of possible experience; offers us a variety of 'symbolic strategies' by means of which we can 'encompass' our situations." [54] Too little use has been made of literature as a means of fostering mental health and emotional stability. The slogan, "The right book for the right child," should include the idea of meeting the emotional needs of children and young people. Teachers and librarians should share their experiences in promoting the reading of books that have contributed helpful insights into human behavior.

Remedial teachers also make a mental-health contribution to pupils, since a reading disability can shatter a child's adjustment as quickly as any other factor. Since emotional factors, primary and secondary, often are tangled with the presumably constitutional factors, such remedial

[52] Wendell Johnson, *People in Quandaries, op. cit.*, p. 380.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[54] S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action*, p. 149. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949.

work is most reliable when combined with psychiatric evaluation and treatment.[55]

Some clinical evidence of the relation between emotional disturbance and reading disability is also available.[56]

More specifically, an impairment in speech, inability to read as well as one's classmates do—in fact, any kind of physical, mental, or emotional handicap tends to (*a*) retard the child scholastically and thus hamper his personality development by making him feel inferior, ashamed, discouraged, shy; (*b*) put a strain on his relations with his parents; (*c*) affect the adjustment of other members of the family, as, for example, in the family of limited financial resources where a disproportionate amount of money is spent on treatment for the handicapped child; and (*d*) reduce his vocational efficiency and earning capacity. However, with a skilful combination of accurate diagnosis, suitable practice and instruction, and counseling and psychotherapy as needed, these detrimental effects may give place to growth toward a healthy personality.

Resources in the Fields of Philosophy and Religion

The general framework of good human relations is set forth in the *Bible*. There we find many basic principles, for which concrete meanings need to be developed. For example, "Love thy neighbor as thyself" might mean less than it should to a person low in self-esteem.

Important insights have come out of the fields of philosophy and religion. Prominent psychiatrists have referred to an adequate religious viewpoint as an essential of mental health and have remarked concerning its effectiveness in restoring peace of mind and confidence of soul to nervous patients. Charles Morris of the University of Chicago mentioned two important emphases:

One is to inculcate some knowledge of and respect for individual differences, and the differences in values which go with these; this so that students will gain greater confidence in their own special and unique resources, whatever they may be. And also so that they may allow others to gain the same sort of confidence of themselves. As

[55] Spock, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[56] Albert Ellis, "Results of a Mental-Hygiene Approach to Reading Disability Problems," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XIII (February, 1949), 56-61.

Margaret Mead once put it, we have to learn to value values—both our own and those of others.[57]

The church, i.e., a local body of worshipers, may contribute to or militate against mental health. Among the minister's positive contributions and opportunities [58] "in the maintenance of mental health and the fostering of the abundant life" are:

1. To increase parents' respect for their children: the child is not the parents' personal possession; he is part of a larger family—the human race. This idea of membership in a large family makes emancipation from his immediate family easier for the child and adolescent.

2. To offer guidance at all ages, from the cradle to the grave. The church has greater accessibility to homes of all socioeconomic levels than do schools or other institutions:
   a) Guidance of parents before and after the child is born.
   b) Guidance of child from birth on.
   c) Guidance of the family group as a whole.
   d) Improvement of community conditions to provide a better life for all.
   e) Pastoral counseling, which deals with the anxieties of persons of all ages, often during crises in their lives—marriage, sickness, death, birth, trouble. The Reverend Roy A. Burkhart of the First Community Church, Columbus Ohio, wrote: "In our parish we give great emphasis to the young couple before they are married. We work with them through a fundamental program of study . . . so they will be free to love, free to build the kind of relationship in which their needs are met. After the wedding we seek to incorporate them into creative fellowship with other young couples. When a child is expected, they have opportunity for growth and insight. This fellowship continues after the child is born.[59]

3. To help individuals gain a sense of "belonging"—identification with a group, fellowship in that group, a sense of need for others. Skilful ministers may accomplish a kind of group therapy in the small face-to-face group. The "consciousness of an inner identity" is especially intense in the Jewish culture. Education based on "the whole Jewish cultural heritage . . . which appeals to the deeper emotions of a Jewish individual, may have a mental-hygiene value. . . . It may help an individual to achieve personal security, self-acceptance, and adjustment.[60]

[57] Charles Morris, unpublished letter to the author.

[58] Wayne E. Oates, in an unpublished letter to the author, and in group discussion on the subject.

[59] Roy A. Burkhart, unpublished letter to the author.

[60] Eugene Revitch, "The Mental Hygiene Value of Jewish Education," *Synagogue School*, VII (April, 1949), 3, 5.

4. To co-operate with lay and professional people. "No minister can meet the variety of specialized needs that the parishioners of even a small church present to him." [61]

However, certain conditions in some religious groups may be detrimental to mental health:

1. Appeals to fear, which may intensify too many fears and anxieties already present in children and young people.
2. The narrow, closed cohesiveness of certain sects which makes it difficult for their members to relate themselves to other groups.
3. Overdomination on the part of church groups which move in too fast on the family, or take over mental-health responsibilities that properly belong to other professional people. Malpractice consists of "attempting to manipulate the individual, to do something for him, to superimpose something upon him." Instead, the minister should "be willing to listen to him" and believe that "growth is possible." [62]

The Law Looks at Mental Health

Lawyers and judges are often consulted about marital difficulties. They help to settle disputes over the custody of children. They try to understand juvenile delinquents and help them with their problems. In the case of an adolescent who was lame, arrangements were made for the necessary surgery. When the boy proved poorly adjusted and unhappy in his school, he was transferred to a special crafts school where a scholarship was obtained for him. Thus a defeated, disappointed, antisocial young man was transformed into an apparently healthy, happy, useful citizen.

The lawyer and judge can be of great assistance in "corralling the community resources and putting them to work." [63]

From the vantage point of a domestic-relations court in New York City, Justice Justine Wise Polier made the following comment:

I feel that the experience of the Children's Court, which sees children burdened with many problems, indicates the tremendous importance of the teacher in strengthening the mental health of children. Over and over again we note that the children who are brought before the Chil-

[61] Oates, op. cit.

[62] Otis Rice, "The Professional Person—A Mental-Hygiene Resource: In the Ministry," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (April, 1950), 280-82.

[63] Alfred M. Lindau, "The Professional Person—A Mental-Hygiene Resource: In the Law," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (April, 1950), 286.

dren's Court as neglected or delinquent come from homes in which they have known neither economic nor emotional security. Frequently they have never had a good relationship with any adult. Often these children function far below their native capacity or potential. The role of the teacher in encouraging them, in providing sympathetic guidance and treating them with respect as human beings can provide a constructive relationship that has great meaning to these children. To strengthen their sense of worth and give them a sense of capacity for successful achievement among their peers, or even to reassure them that their efforts are worth while and that they themselves are worth while, can provide a tremendous contribution toward their mental health.[64]

Parent Education and Mental Health

It is the parents of the next generation who can break the vicious cycle of unfavorable parental attitudes which decrease children's potentialities to become good parents in their turn. If this is done, many more well-adjusted children will come to school.

Educators who are most helpful do not blame the parents. They realize that "everything which can be done to help parents feel comfortable and loving will be beneficial to the baby, everything which makes them feel tense will be unfortunate." [65] They guard against arousing in conscientious parents self-consciousness, self-doubt, and feelings of guilt. On the other hand, parents need to "know how children grow and develop, understand their needs and what to expect of children." [66] Otherwise, parents cannot adjust their methods of care to the child's stage of development. Ethel Kawin has found that such understanding of child development helps parents "feel more adequate in their parental roles, find increased satisfaction in parenthood, and enjoy their children more. In addition, parents tell us that these group experiences help them become more adaptable, because, in coming to understand their children, they arrive at greater self-understanding and self-acceptance."

Following are some additional insights [67] from the field of parent education:

[64] Justine Wise Polier, unpublished letter to the author.

[65] Benjamin Spock, "What We Know about the Development of Healthy Personalities in Children," *Understanding the Child*, XX (January, 1951), 2.

[66] Ethel Kawin, unpublished letter to the author.

[67] Contributed largely in a group discussion by Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale.

1. A mother's anxiety often gives rise to feeding problems.
2. There is no substitute for genuine parental love and understanding. The detrimental influence of broken homes, so often observed, may be due more to the instability of the parents than to the physical fact of separation.
3. The significance for mental health of specific details of child care as practices in a given family varies with the family atmosphere and relationships as a whole.
4. A nucleus of personality traits persists from childhood to adulthood.
5. Parental attitudes favorable to mental health seem to form central syndromes, which might be labeled, "Democracy in the Home," and "Acceptance of the Child."

Common Emphases

In this many-sided view of mental health certain ideas have been repeated by representatives in the various fields. These may be briefly summarized to give teachers a feeling for their responsibilities in the total mental-health program, which reaches back into the prenatal years and forward into maturity. Any combination of the factors mentioned in the foregoing pages may enter into an individual case.

Many persons are concerned with the preparation of parents for their child-care responsibilities. Good nutrition of the expectant mother, adequate medical care and health supervision, psychological conditions favorable to mother and child in the family setting—all contribute to a good start in life. In parent meetings and in individual conferences with parents, teachers will have opportunities to suggest to expectant mothers services that are available to them during this period.

When the child is born, child-care practices characteristic of the culture begin to operate. The present approved emphasis is on a warm, affectionate relation between mother and child from the very first week in life. Infancy is "the time for parents to be good and children to be bad." In addition to love, the child requires the care of one who understands his needs and knows how to accomplish routine tasks and set reasonable limits to his behavior without loss of his sense of trust. Teachers can help mothers and older children give the baby the fondling and guidance he needs in making his first adjustments to our world.

During preschool years the continuity of relationship with

mother or mother-substitute must be maintained. Since this relationship is so close, the mother's attitude is of utmost importance. A relaxed, warm, responsive, consistent, and understanding parental attitude is associated with mental health of the child and with good adjustment in later years. At the same time the child's relation to the outside world requires constant guidance in line with his own abilities and rate of growth. The pediatrician, family physician, nurse, social worker, and religious leader are resources for parents of preschool children.

During school years, teachers should recognize the interrelation of mind and body and the effect of nutrition and physical conditions on emotional development, and vice versa. The attractiveness and the emotional climate of the classroom are only less important than the personal relationship with the teacher and other pupils. In fact, personal relations permeate the whole program. It is in the matrix of personal relations that behavior conducive to mental health is learned. It is through suitable work and play that the child builds a sense of self-esteem and competence. And his subsequent behavior is determined to a great extent by his self-concept. In understanding individual children, their feelings, their motivations, and their needs, the teacher may learn much from all the specialized services available. By working with specialists on cases he has referred, the teacher slowly but surely builds up his knowledge of dynamic psychology and how to use it in classroom situations. Without this understanding teachers may unwittingly reinforce undesirable emotional patterns and fail to provide the experiences a particular child needs and by means of which he can change himself.

From the same sources the teacher may gain insight into his own adjustment. The same principles and understandings used in helping children attain mental health can be applied by teachers to themselves. They can modify certain unfavorable conditions and change their attitude toward conditions about which they can do nothing at present. From birth to adulthood, each individual has the problem of adapting to changing conditions and developing his best potentialities for social purposes.

There is no quick and easy solution to the problem of mental health. It involves the changing culture in which the child is

brought up, the emotional adjustment and understanding of his parents and teachers, the increasing influence of his own age group as he moves through elementary school. But there is also a wealth of resources of knowledge and services from many fields, some on the local, some on the county, state, and national levels.

Significance for Present Practice

In what ways may this many-sided approach to mental health be helpful to teachers? It should give them understandings, reassurance, and specific suggestions.

Understanding of the psychological and sociological conditions which are significant for mental health helps teachers to see more clearly the complex causes of behavior. They will realize that a pupil's rudeness or aggressiveness need not be taken personally; it may arise from early childhood experiences reinforced by subsequent home, school, or community conditions.

Reassurance comes with the realization that many professional people are now working for the mental health of school children. Application of their knowledge and skill will eventually result in fewer "problem children" and more well-adjusted pupils in the classrooms. It is also reassuring for the teacher to know that he is part of a professional team and can turn to many special fields for help, information, and inspiration. Most important is the assurance that the teacher's own feelings are important in the educative process, and that he has untapped resources within himself for attaining better mental health for himself and his students.

Innumerable specific suggestions will occur to the resourceful teacher as he studies the insights and principles presented from these different fields. These ideas will help him see his classroom in a different light and perceive pupils as individuals influenced by their past, by present experiences and people's attitudes toward them, and by their hopes for the future. Then the teacher will find ways and means of helping them acquire the understandings and skills needed.

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SECTION II

CONDITIONS AFFECTING MENTAL HEALTH
IN THE CLASSROOM

Motivation and Learning: Their Significance in a Mental-Health Program for Education

HERBERT A. CARROLL

A great deal of information has been gathered since the day of G. Stanley Hall—and before, for that matter—on *what* children do and *how* they do it. Until recently, however, not nearly so much attention has been given to the question, *"Why* do they do it?"* This may be because the answers to *why* are more complex and controversial than the answers to *what* and *how*. In mental hygiene we are vitally concerned with *why*, since little or no progress can be made in the prevention of behavior disorders unless we know the causes of these disorders. In other words, it is essential that we have a clear understanding of the mainsprings of human behavior and of the fundamental principles which determine behavior patterns—normal and abnormal, acceptable and unacceptable.

Motivation

All behavior is motivated. Nothing just happens. Every person is driven throughout his life by basic needs which must, to some extent, be satisfied. He is constantly trying to maintain equilibrium through satisfying his physical and psychological wants. Although psychologists agree that all behavior is motivated, they disagree concerning the nature and the number of the actuating forces. The theories on motivation can be divided into two broad classifications: instincts and needs. An instinct is a complex pattern of behavior which is characteristic of a given species in a specific situation. It is inherited and presumably unaffected by learning. A need is a basic force which initiates behavior. Some needs are primarily physiological, while others develop almost wholly out of the individual's experiential background. All needs are affected to a greater or lesser extent by learning.

Although the point of view that human behavior results from instincts has not been wholly discarded, it has relatively little support in current psychological thinking. The concept of need has, to a considerable extent, supplanted the older concept. Need is a more flexible term than instinct, allowing for the effects of learning and for social inheritance as well as biological inheritance. Lists of needs, like lists of instincts, vary considerably in length. At one extreme is Murray, who offers thirteen viscerogenic needs and twenty-six psychogenic needs.[1] A long list of needs such as Murray's is somewhat misleading in that the impression is given that each one exists as a separate entity, although Murray himself would not support that point of view. Since actually the individual functions as a whole, it seems best to try to discover one fundamental need which then can be arbitrarily subdivided for practical purposes. Snygg and Combs offer such an explanation of human motivation, and it is their point of view which will serve as a basis for the remainder of this discussion of motivation.

Snygg and Combs maintain that the basic human need is "the preservation and enhancement of the phenomenal self." The phenomenal self "includes all those parts of the phenomenal field which the individual experiences as part or characteristic of himself."[2] It is the self which is responding at a given time to all of the characteristics of the phenomenal field of which he is aware. This self— which for the individual is a complex pattern of somewhat related perceptions of himself and of his environment—is pushed on throughout life by the drive of preservation and enhancement. This point of view is very close to Adler's position and similar in many respects to Freud's emphasis on life instinct.

For practical purposes, the writer has subdivided the basic need presented by Snygg and Combs into four subneeds: physical security, emotional security, mastery, and status. Physical security and emotional security come, in a general way, under preservation, while mastery and status come under enhancement. No one of these needs, of course, exists in isolation. There is always some degree of overlapping.

[1] H. A. Murray *et al.*, *Explorations in Personality*, pp. 76-80. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

[2] D. Snygg and A. W. Combs, *Individual Behavior*, p. 58. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949.

Physical Security. The basic physical need is to maintain a relatively constant internal environment. Whenever the physiological processes are disturbed, a physical need is created. If the need is not satisfied, the organism is threatened and, under extreme conditions, may be destroyed. Man cannot live by bread alone, but he must have bread.

There are some who regard the need for homeostasis as the single motivating force in human behavior. Obviously it is of great importance; however, excessive concentration on the organic needs is likely to result in giving too little attention to psychological stimuli. Organic drives are the source of a great deal of activity, but man is a physical organism functioning in an environment to which he must adjust. Many of the physical needs, to be sure, are satisfied almost automatically, but such needs as hunger and sex are hedged in by a maze of social requirements and psychological hazards. Of these two, the sex need obviously poses more problems for the school than does the food-hunger need.

There is not space here to do more than take a very brief look at a few of the basic facts concerning sex behavior. Sex desires do not appear abruptly at puberty but are present from infancy and require some form of direct or indirect outlet. In early childhood, autoerotic practices are wholly normal; moreover, autoeroticism in the form of masturbation continues through the years with the majority of persons. According to the Kinsey reports,[3] 62 per cent of girls and women interviewed and 92 per cent of the boys and men resorted to such practices. There is no evidence whatsoever that this form of sex outlet, unless carried to great extremes, results in any physical harm. Neither are there any harmful mental or emotional effects unless the individual has a considerable feeling of guilt concerning the practice. From the standpoint of mental hygiene, this form of sex expression should be accepted.

During preadolescence and early adolescence, both boys and girls normally fix their affections upon others of the same sex. This

[3] The two Kinsey reports "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" and "Sexual Behavior in the Human Female" constitute the most extensive studies of human sexual behavior ever made and are an important source for facts concerning sex practices. This statement is valid even though Kinsey's subjects were volunteers and did not constitute a representative sample of the human race or even of Americans. Generalizations from the study should, of course, be made with caution.

is a basic developmental phenomenon which is generally known and accepted. In the majority of cases this relationship does not result in any overt sex act. However, Kinsey found that 37 per cent of human males have experienced at least one homosexual relationship leading to orgasm. This percentage is rather high, but it should be kept in mind that, according to Kinsey, only 4 per cent of human males remain exclusively homosexual throughout their lives. Therefore, teachers should guard against coming to the conclusion that a boy or girl known to have had one such experience is to become a moral and social pariah. Obviously homosexual practices are personally and socially undesirable, but prevention of such behavior is more likely to be achieved through constructive understanding than through the expression of shock and extreme criticism.

Heterosexual activity during adolescence is difficult to control in our culture. During this period, when most young men find it socially and economically impossible to marry, the sex drive is strongest, steadily deteriorating as the individual grows older. This again is a developmental and motivational fact which should be recognized and sympathetically understood. High-school boys and girls should be helped to learn how to satisfy their sex needs indirectly. The schools are doing a better job now than formerly through greater emphasis on extracurricular activities such as athletics, dramatics, and social affairs. From the mental hygiene point of view, it is undesirable to segregate boys and girls during this period or indeed at any period.

Emotional Security. Emotional security is essential for physical and mental health. If one considers the psychological self as transcending the physical self, then emotional security becomes the most important of the four needs being discussed here. When a person feels secure, he is obviously relatively free of a sense of threat. When a person feels insecure, he is emotionally disturbed; his self is being threatened. Sometimes he knows the causes of that threat, but often the danger is experienced as a vague, enveloping menace. Neither the physical self nor the psychological self can tolerate a prolonged, stirred-up state. Perhaps the greatest contribution that the home and the school can make to the child is to provide him with a climate wherein he feels safe and which promotes a feeling of well-being.

Recently, a six-year-old girl in the first grade was referred to the writer because she would not remain in school. Each day, as soon as possible after arrival in the classroom, she would run back home. Her teacher had difficulty in understanding this behavior since the child had not been a problem the previous year. Through play therapy and conversation, it was revealed that the little girl's parents were on the verge of divorce. The child had frequently heard her mother say that she was going to leave home. When the little girl went to school, she began to think of the possibility that her mother might even now be going away, whereupon she became terror-stricken and had to run back home to see if the mother was still there. Instances such as this demonstrate clearly, among other things, the importance of a close relationship between home and school. Children are not just students in a classroom. They are individuals, human beings with widely different feelings and experiences, functioning in widely different environments.

The two principal sources of emotional security for the child are the home and the school. In many years of counseling and psychotherapy of college students, the writer has found associated with practically every relatively severe emotional disturbance a history of more or less intense anxiety associated with home or school situations or both. During the first five or six years, the home, of course, plays the major role. Throughout this period, the principal responsibility of the parent is to make the child feel safe. For the first few months of his life, his every need should be satisfied in so far as possible. Unless there are very good reasons for separation during the first few days after birth, he should be with his mother instead of in a hospital nursery. He should be fed on demand, rather than according to an arbitrary schedule, until he has had an opportunity to establish his own feeding routine. Whenever possible, an operation, even a minor one, should be explained, and the reason for having it should be set forth. At all times he should feel that he is loved and wanted.

As he grows older, he must, of course, begin to learn to differentiate between what he ought to do and what he ought not to do. When he has matured sufficiently he should learn to accept certain responsibilities as a member of the family. However, it is important that all this learning take place in an atmosphere of love and accept-

ance. If this atmosphere is not present, then the child becomes anxious, and anxiety retards the development of a sound, healthy personality.

Eventually the child goes to school. At school his teacher becomes a mother-substitute whether she wishes to be or not. During the subprimary and primary years, at least, the child leans heavily upon his teacher for emotional security. He depends upon her to provide a comfortable, permissive atmosphere. If such an atmosphere is present, he reaches out confidently for new experiences, new knowledge. If the atmosphere is laden with threat, he may wilt like a plant without sun. This does not mean that he should be overprotected either in the home or in the school. Overprotection robs the child of his opportunity to develop his personality. It does mean, however, that teaching should be carried on in a manner which adds to the child's feeling of security rather than in a manner which detracts from it. This rule, of course, applies to teaching at any level.

Some time ago, a high-school Sophomore girl was referred to the writer because, after fainting in the classroom, she had refused to return to school. During the preceding year, she had developed psychosomatic complaints, including a pain in her side, frequent headaches, and the conviction that there was something seriously wrong with her neck. The following excerpts from the first of a series of recorded interviews indicate how helpless she felt in a threatening school atmosphere.

*P: Would you like to tell me a little about the difficulties you have been having in school?

*C: Well, I used to work about six hours on chemistry every night. I got C's before, so I wanted to get B's now and be on the honor roll. I had handed in my notebook and I got an A on that, and the teacher told me I'd been doing well on my tests, but when I got my report card it was a D. It was supposed to be a B, I guess. My homeroom teacher had made a mistake, but I was so tired after working so long. . . .

P: You worked so hard on it and you wanted so much to get a B. . . .

C: I wasn't even thinking of getting a D in that. I thought I might get a D in history or something.

P: And then when you got that D you just went home and felt very badly about it.

* P—psychologist; C—client.

C: Yes.

P: Did you go back to school then?

C: No, I didn't.

P: And then this fall you tried to go back again. Would you like to tell me a little about that?

C: Well, the first time I came back, I was up in the science room taking notes that the teacher was giving me when all of a sudden a faint feeling came over me. I got kind of scared. I was afraid something would happen to me and I wouldn't be able to get home.

P: Yes. You felt very faint and were concerned about your health.

C: Yes. Yes, I didn't know what was going to happen to me.

P: Would you like to tell me a little bit more about how you felt?

C: I just felt like falling down. I stayed through the day, though. I didn't eat any lunch.

P: And then when you got home, did you feel any better?

C: It took me two or three months to come out of it. After a while I recovered and felt more like myself. I felt all right except when school was mentioned. I'm just afraid of it.

P: When school is mentioned, you feel afraid. Does it bring back that same faint feeling?

C: Yes. . . .

P: Doctor M. told me that you felt there was something wrong with you physically. Do you want to tell me anything about that?

C: Well, sometimes I think I'm going to go out of my mind. When I have that faint feeling, I'm afraid I'm going to, and if I have any crick in my neck or anything, I'm afraid I have broken my neck.

P: Sometimes, then, you feel that you do have a crick in your neck.

C: Yes.

P: And that worries you a lot.

C: Yes.

P: And sometimes you feel that you're going out of your mind.

C: Yes, when I get excited or scared or something I feel that way. My mind doesn't feel clear. I don't feel the way I should.

P: All confused.

C: Yes.

P: Have you felt that way for a long time?

C: Well, since I went to high school I have. If I had that feeling before, I can't remember it. . . .

P: Pretty hard for you to sleep sometimes?

C: Well, it is if I know school is coming up again the next morning.

P: When school is coming along, you worry an awful lot about it.

C: Yes, it makes me feel kind of sick all over. Food doesn't taste good to me or anything. I don't eat very much.

P: If you were going back to school tomorrow, for instance, what would you be thinking about during the evening or the night?

C: Well, I'd be thinking how I was going to feel and how the teachers were going to be, and if the subjects were going to be hard or not. I would wonder whether or not I was going to be good in my mind; whether or not I could understand.

. . . .

C: Sometimes I want to get away from everything. Sometimes it is so strong that I think of killing myself.

P: Do you want to tell me when you are likely to feel that way?

C: Well, once in a while when I'm thinking about going back to school, and my mother tells me I have to go, I'd rather go down to the river and jump overboard or something, but I know that wouldn't be any help. It would just make my mother and father feel bad.

P: A pretty strong feeling, isn't it.

C: Yes. But my mother doesn't understand the reason why I can't go back. I want to go back to please her, but it's so frightening going back that almost anything would be better.

After three months of psychotherapy, the girl had regained her self-respect, and the psychosomatic symptoms had disappeared. This is a rather extreme case, but it indicates clearly how a threatening school atmosphere can affect a child's mental health.

Mastery. Separation of the need for mastery from the need for emotional security is an arbitrary one, for a person cannot feel secure unless he has been relatively successful, and he cannot be successful unless he feels relatively secure. Well-adjusted individuals characteristically set goals which are within their reach and expect to achieve them most of the time. Maladjusted individuals, on the other hand, are likely either to set their goals well below their abilities or well above. In other words, maladjusted persons are more unrealistic with respect to their levels of aspiration than are well-adjusted persons. Gruen conducted an experiment with two such groups using seventh- and eighth-grade students as subjects. The following conclusion was reached:

The maladjusted subject tended to keep his estimates *below* his performance level, or to make gross compensatory overestimates. Only in the maladjusted group did negative D-scores occur, whereas none of the well-adjusted subjects showed negative D-scores. This may indicate that for certain maladjusted subjects a possible explanation may be found in their fear of failure and greater need for success. Thus, by manipulating their estimates, they are able to protect themselves against failure

and to insure successes, lending support to the hypothesis that the level of aspiration is an "ego-protective mechanism." The well-adjusted subjects, on the other hand, tended more or less consistently to keep their estimates slightly above their performance level. These positive discrepancies appeared to serve the function of incentives, rather than overestimates, and tended to be realistic, i.e., only one or two points above the previous performance level. Probably one reason that these subjects are able to maintain a positive discrepancy, even despite failures, may be due to their greater feeling of security and self-confidence.[4]

Fear of failure may be a manifestation of generalized emotional insecurity or it may come rather directly from persistent failure to achieve. Success should always be defined in terms of the goals which the individual, influenced as he always is by the significant figures in his life, has set for himself. Ideally those goals should be high enough so that he has to work rather hard to achieve them, but low enough so that he is successful in the majority of instances. They should not be so high that success is rare. To reach persistently for the stars is to court an emotional breakdown. Every person must experience a certain amount of success in areas which, to him, are important if his phenomenal self is to be preserved and enhanced. If he does not achieve in the world of reality, then eventually he may seek his satisfactions in the world of fantasy. In other words, long-continued frustration of the need for mastery will, in time, lead to neurotic or psychotic behavior. The following excerpt from a series of recorded interviews with a brilliant college student who, at the time, was a borderline psychotic, is an example of how the struggle for mastery—and for security—had brought this young man to the point where he was about to reject the world of the senses and escape into an ideal world of his own creation.

P: Would you like to tell me a little about your ideal world?
C: Well, there is my conception—an absolute conception—of reality. In it success is merely a matter of knowing how to do something. It is not a struggle with chaotic matter that falls to pieces. It has more or less of an independent existence. It has meaning without the constant attention of the individual to make the thing stay together. It seems to me that everything in the world falls apart as we try to struggle for truth. That seems to me to be about the essence of the conflict of my ideal world with the outer world. This ideal world is perfect

[4] E. W. Gruen, "Level of Aspiration in Relation to Personality Factors in Adolescents," *Child Development*, XVI (1945), 183-84.

in itself. It's just a matter of conforming with it and knowing how to get along with it, not a matter of brute effort to force it to have some meaning. It is perfect and cannot be altered.

P: If I have followed you correctly, the real world is a confusing world.

C: That is as I find it.

P: Yes.

C: This other world, the abstract, the intellectual—I don't know what you'd call it. It's beyond my experience, but it is absolute and has significance. It has permanence to it. It is permanent. It is something you can depend upon. I have really experienced it only once or twice. . . . If there is such a world it is independent of me. It is not dependent on me to try to save it. It has already saved itself. It is something I can depend on and not something that is dependent on me.

P: And you would like very much to believe that there is such a world.

C: Yes.

P: And you're striving to understand it and to identify yourself with it because that would make you feel safer.

C: Yes. It would give me a sense of security.

P: And that's the world that you escape into in your daydreams.

C: That's the most satisfactory form of escape. (Pause) I don't know whether you would call it escape or not. I call it reality, so it couldn't be escape, could it?

P: It is reality to you, then. That world is reality and what people ordinarily call the real world is unreality.

C: Yeah. That's about it. I think it's logical. The thing is to forget about the unreal world, the world of the senses, then perhaps I could make a complete transference into the world of ideas which has purpose to it and get away from the shifting, unstable world.

Knowledge of individual differences is not a product of the twentieth century. Plato made it the cornerstone of his ideal state and undoubtedly men long before his time had observed that all men are not equal intellectually or physically. In view of this, including the addition of all of the research that has been done during the last fifty years on the subject, it is rather surprising that in so many of our schools children are still taught as though they were alike mentally. This point of view, where it is still held, has resulted in setting arbitrary standards for everyone in the class. Those in the class whose abilities are in line with those standards are not harmed because they can be successful. However, those whose intelligence is relatively low, as in the case of the girl mentioned earlier, find themselves caught in a trap. Fortunately, many

of them achieve a partial escape through success in other activities, but there are many who try conscientiously to do what they cannot do, to understand what they cannot understand. They accept literally the dictum that anyone can do anything if only he will work hard enough.

Individual differences are, of course, the result of heredity and environment. The exact contribution which each makes to an individual has never been determined and probably never will be, since the two are so interwoven. However, with respect to intelligence, most psychologists would accept the following rather broad statements: (*a*) Limits to achievement have been set by the nature of the organism which the individual has inherited. (*b*) Environment is a powerful determining factor in the extent to which the individual is able to utilize the capacities which he has inherited. (*c*) In general, a person's intelligence quotient remains relatively constant. (*d*) Changes in intelligence resulting from environmental conditions are most likely to result during infancy or very early childhood. (*e*) Every environment must be interpreted in terms of the individual reacting to it.

Since the teacher is helpless to change a child's intellectual capacity, it becomes his responsibility to help the child develop and utilize whatever capacity he has. He will be greatly encouraged in this process if the tasks which are set for him are well within his power to accomplish. Adjusting the curriculum to the abilities of the learner is one of the sure ways of furthering mental health.

Status. Each person needs to be accepted as a significant, desirable individual by one or more groups. He needs recognition and position. The role or roles which he plays must be at least quietly applauded by his fellows. Again it can be seen how all of his needs are actually part of a whole. Status is inextricably interwoven with mastery, emotional security, and physical security, and all these are but manifestations of the drive to preserve and enhance the phenomenal self.

By the time the child enters the first grade he has already had experience in role-taking. He has learned to play the part of a son or daughter and possibly of a sibling as well. Presumably he has also had some experience in functioning as a member of a group of children of approximately his own age. When he enters school he

has a new part to learn, and an understanding teacher can make that learning relatively easy. There are many ways in which she can help him make a successful transition from home to school. Three of these are: (*a*) explain the new role clearly and simply in an atmosphere of security; (*b*) provide opportunities for the child to identify himself with her, with his classmates, and with the school; (*c*) permit occasional regression to behavior which is more characteristic of younger children.

A person's concept of himself is determined almost wholly—perhaps wholly—by his interpersonal relationships from birth until death. If in his relationships with others he feels that he has status, that he is accepted for what he is, his view of himself will almost certainly be positive. In infancy he is very nearly helpless in his interpersonal relationships. He can do little more than experience the impact of the attitudes of others toward him. Even during the first two or three years of school, he is relatively passive. As he grows older, however, he learns techniques for manipulating his interpersonal relationships. If he is a mentally healthy individual he develops a variety of adjustment mechanisms, shifting as he goes from group to group. If he is already a very anxious child, he tends to lean heavily upon a limited number of adjustive techniques, selecting those that have helped him to achieve at least a minimum of status with other persons. However, as he goes on into new situations where he has to play new roles, these few rather rigid mechanisms may fail him. This happens to many children during the period of adolescence. A term that seems applicable here is *role lag*, the individual falling behind because of lack of flexibility in maintaining the developmental social pace of his peers. Hence, while his need for status may have been to some extent satisfied as a grade-school child, it is now being almost completely frustrated during the adolescent period.

Learning

A human being inherits a physical organism including a nervous system which makes it possible for him to learn; he does not inherit information, or mental associations, or behavior patterns, except for simple reflexes. He inherits potentialities for adaptation, but the specific ways in which he adapts himself to his environment

are dependent upon the kind of experiences which he has from birth until death. Inheriting the capacity to learn to use verbal symbols, he acquires those which come to him through his social inheritance: English, French, Italian, German, or whatever the case may be. Inheriting the power to learn number symbols, he eventually acquires some mastery of these, the extent of such mastery being dependent upon inherited limitations and environmental opportunities. He also inherits the capacity for learning social and emotional behavior patterns, but the nature of his behavior patterns depends upon his individual experiences. He can learn confidence and self-control and the other characteristics of normal behavior, or he can learn anxiety, obsessions, delusions of persecution, and other characteristics of abnormal behavior.

It is an obvious fact that human beings learn, and it is equally obvious that certain conditions vitally affect the learning process. However, psychologists are still far from agreeing on the exact nature of the principles of learning, and there is very little knowledge of what takes place in the physical organism itself when the individual learns. In this brief paper, the writer cannot attempt any critical evaluation of the several theories of learning, but he leans toward the point of view that there are two basic learning processes: conditioning and problem-solving.

The Adjustment Sequence. Every individual is constantly adjusting, and every adjustment made constitutes a modification of the patterns of learned behavior. It results in a change, even though a minute one, in the personality of the individual—in what he is. The sequence in the adjustment process is: motivation, frustration and/or conflict, emotional tension, response, tension reduction, and effects. In a specific situation there may be, for all practical purposes, a single motive which initiates the behavior sequence. Usually, however, motivation is complex, although characteristically one desire is dominant.

The presence of a desire or motive stirs an individual from his relative complacency. It sets up a state of disequilibrium. The individual then tries to find satisfaction for his desire or motive in order that he may become more comfortable. Hence the motive sets in motion a behavior sequence with tension reduction as its goal. The second step in this sequence is frustration or conflict.

By frustration is meant any kind of thwarting of the motive. This can be very simple, such as tolerating a brief lapse of time before satisfying one's thirst, or it can be an extreme and disruptive blocking of a satisfying behavior response. A conflict always involves frustration, but it includes also the necessity of making a choice between two or more responses. A conflict may be relatively simple and easily resolved or it may be complex and continue over a long period of time. In trying to resolve a severe conflict, the individual draws heavily upon his experiential background. The ways in which he has made adjustments in the past exert a powerful influence upon what he does in the present and will do in the future.

A conflict state is always accompanied by tension. The extent of the tension varies markedly, of course, depending upon the strength of the conflict as seen by the individual experiencing it. Throughout life human beings are under some degree of tension; complete complacency is not achieved until death—possibly not even then. A marked degree of tension, although it may be temporarily pleasant, characteristically becomes very unpleasant if it persists. It presents such familiar physical manifestations as dry mouth, increased rate of heart beat, and stomach and intestinal disturbances and such mental manifestations as confusion and inability to concentrate.

An individual experiencing marked tension seeks to regain internal equilibrium through making a response, or responses, which will reduce the tension. In normal behavior he hits upon responses which not only reduce tension but are also in accord with his immediate and distant needs and with the requirements of society. In abnormal behavior, tension reduction is also achieved by the responses made, but the adjustments resorted to are characteristically unacceptable to society and frequently unsatisfactory to the individual in terms of distant goals.

The effects upon future behavior of the particular responses resorted to in the individual's efforts to satisfy certain motives are considerable. If reward in the form of tension reduction accompanies the response, the person is likely to turn again to the same response when a similar situation arises. A little later in this discussion an attempt will be made to show how neurotic and even

psychotic behavior actually grows out of abnormal adjustments which have brought the reward of tension reduction.

Adjustment Mechanisms. When an individual cannot achieve his satisfactions by direct methods, he turns to indirect methods. These are called adjustment mechanisms. They are techniques which make flexibility possible for the individual in his constant struggle with his environment. They are utilized by everyone. The most important ones are compensation, identification, rationalization, fantasy, regression, and repression.

Compensation is usually defined as the exaggeration of a desirable trait to reduce a feeling of inferiority caused by an undesirable trait. Every teacher has observed this form of behavior in school children: the boy who has been unsuccessful in his studies and who now stresses his athletic prowess; the girl who has failed to make satisfactory social adjustments and who now emphasizes intellectual achievements; the boy who lacked emotional security at home and who has now become a juvenile delinquent. The teacher herself uses compensation in a variety of ways. Obviously, it is a desirable response to a problem situation if it is not carried to extremes. It is a sort of antidote to the urge to try too long and too hard to perform a task which is too difficult.

A form of compensation which can have very bad effects is found in parents' efforts to achieve through their children. A certain amount of such compensatory behavior is, in most cases, almost inevitable because of the mutual identification which is characteristic of parent-child relationships. Too often, however, parents seek to make up for their own personal and professional failures through the successes of their children, frequently trying to push their children into activities or lines of work in which the children are not interested and insisting on a level of achievement far above their abilities. Such a parental attitude may seriously affect the mental health of children.

Identification is another mechanism of adjustment to which individuals frequently turn in an effort to preserve and enhance the self-concept through establishing a strong emotional tie with another person, a group of persons, or an institution. It is a form of adjustment which, fortunately, our schools have encouraged. It involves such common experiences as school spirit, pride in one's

class, support of athletic teams, and, especially in the primary grades, some identification with the teacher. Such identification characteristically expands the ego. To be sure, if the child is ashamed of his family, of his class, and of his school, his ego is deflated. Obviously, it is desirable for the teachers and for the community to emphasize as much as possible all the positive characteristics of the school system.

Rationalization is an adjustment technique by means of which a person reduces self-blame by thinking of acceptable personal and social reasons for his behavior. Obviously, excessive rationalization is undesirable, but children, like adults, need to use it to some extent. Although one should usually face the facts as they are, he cannot do so all the time. Examples of the use of rationalization have been observed by all experienced teachers. For example, when a test is returned to a class, many students, instead of thinking to themselves, "I did not study enough for this test," or "I did not understand the material," will say, "The test was unfair," or "The test was much too long." The teacher herself may rationalize through a similar form of projection by blaming the children for the low scores when actually her earlier explanations of the material were inadequate and the test itself was hurriedly constructed.

Another response to need-frustration which is widely used is daydreaming. If the need or motive cannot be satisfied in reality, a person may achieve it in fantasy. If, for example, a low-ranking student is actually quite ambitious, he may see himself in his daydreams as a successful man in a happier future. If a child is unpopular with his peers he may daydream about a situation in which he is the center of an admiring group. Mild use of this mechanism of adjustment is restful and desirable. Excessive use is a significant danger signal. It is normal for a high-school boy or girl to devote from one to two hours a day to daydreaming. Five or six hours a day of such activity is a definite indication that actual life situations are too difficult to tolerate.

Regression is a retreat from the complexities of the present to an earlier and simpler form of behavior. The desire to regress at times is present in everyone and is occasionally utilized. The child of three who is faced with the problem of adjusting to the presence of an infant sibling may return to the dependent behavior of a child

half his age in order to recapture the attention and care which he misses. A child in the primary grades occasionally desires to return to simpler preschool activities. Teachers should make allowances for such occasional regression. In normal children, such regressions are merely temporary escapes which actually provide them with more courage to deal with present problems. At the adolescent level, parents and teachers frequently wonder whether they are dealing with adults or young children, for one of the characteristics of adolescents is their rather frequent return to the behavior patterns of earlier years. Even adults—especially at Christmas time —happily retreat over the span of the years in order to experience again a simpler form of activity. The desire to regress is strong, but the drive for growth is stronger in well-adjusted persons.

All the mechanisms of adjustment mentioned so far are desirable when used within limits. There is one, however, which is always undesirable: repression. Repression means to press down, to try to forget, to pretend that the guilt-producing experience or thought never existed. No experience, no thought, can ever be completely erased. It may be pushed beyond conscious recall, but it remains as a tension-producing experience. There is, of course, a difference between repression and self-control. A person in exercising self-control faces more or less completely the facts as they are and then makes direct or indirect adjustments to them. He knows that he has had certain experiences and certain desires which were unacceptable to his conscience, but he has adjusted to these either directly or through the use of one or more of the mechanisms previously discussed. He has not made a flat denial of reality but, instead, has worked out satisfactory means of adjusting to it.

Neurotic and Psychotic Adjustments. In the preceding discussion of adjustment mechanisms, it was emphasized that the moderate use of all of them, except repression, is both desirable and necessary. Excessive use is undesirable and may lead to certain forms of neurotic and psychotic behavior. In recent years a great amount of evidence has been accumulated in support of the thesis that serious behavior disorders are learned and that they are used by normal people. For example, Cameron and Magaret expressed this point of view in the following statement:

The patients whom we study, when we come to know them well, seem no longer odd, bizarre, or grotesque. They always turn out to differ from the rest of us only in their extravagant, restricted, or inappropriate use of techniques which everybody uses in attempting to reduce the tensions of needs and anxieties.[5]

Manifestations of the excessive use of adjustment mechanisms can be readily observed in the behavior of seriously disturbed persons. They constitute responses which are rewarding to the individual using them, although observers might find it extremely difficult to understand how they could possibly be satisfying. For example, in conversion hysteria the hysteric is using his physical ills—which are very real to him—as a rationalization for his inability to handle certain problem situations. The use of extreme identification can be observed in any mental hospital. The patient who sees himself as Napoleon or as God has carried his association to the point where he believes he is the person with whom he once identified himself in order to strengthen his ego. The schizophrenic patient who lives in a world of fantasy has, to a considerable extent, substituted daydreams for realities which were too difficult for him to cope with. Excessive regression is also frequently noted in the behavior of psychotic patients, many of whom have retreated permanently into child-like behavior. Fortunately, grade-school children rarely have such serious behavior disorders, but it is during the grade-school period that the foundations are being laid, that such behavior is being learned. Teachers should be conscious of this fact and be alert for the danger signals which are present in the excessive use of any of the adjustment mechanisms.

Nature of Anxiety. There is, of course, a reason for the excessive use of adjustment mechanisms and for the later development of behavior disorders. The basic cause is anxiety, and teachers can do a great deal to keep anxiety at a minimum. Since anxiety is at the source of all functional behavior disorders and since, characteristically, it is learned during childhood, it is important for us to examine it in this discussion of motivation and learning.

Rollo May defines anxiety as "the apprehension cued off by a threat to some value which the individual holds essential to his

[5] N. Cameron and A. Magaret, *Behavior Pathology*, p. 3. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951.

existence as a personality."[6] This threat, as May points out, may be physical or psychological. The person threatened feels that certain important aspects of his phenomenal self are in danger of being destroyed. Anxiety is general and diffuse, as compared with fear which is relatively specific; moreover, anxiety is a threat to the basic personality, while fear is usually a threat to less important values. As May points out, "One *has* a fear, but one *is* anxious."[7]

Anxiety Is Learned. A child does not inherit anxiety. There is not even any evidence to support the thesis that he inherits specific fears. Evidently all that the child inherits is the *capacity* for anxiety. The extent and intensity of his anxiety in later years depend upon the learning which has taken place as a result of the nature of his interpersonal relationships.

The important interpersonal relationships for any individual are those which exist between himself and the significant persons in his environment. During the preschool years these significant figures are his parents or parent-substitutes. They are so important that some writers (notably Harry Stack Sullivan) go so far as to say that the basic anxiety patterns of behavior are learned during the first year or so of life. This is probably an extreme point of view, for anxiety can be learned at any period in the individual's life, although it is most likely to be developed during childhood when the individual is relatively dependent upon his interpersonal relationships for his knowledge of himself and of his environment.

The writer has just completed a series of therapeutic interviews with a college student who has learned neurotic anxiety. In this instance, the basic patterns had been learned at home and supplemented at school. The boy's father was sadistic. In his eyes, practically everything that the child did was wrong. If he made a mistake in table manners, he was punished by having his food taken away or by being struck by the father. Often he was punished before the mistake had been made, this supposedly being a warning to him. Tasks that he did were never done properly. Physical and verbal punishment were frequent. The mother subtly rejected the

* Rollo May, *The Meaning of Anxiety*, p. 191. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950.

† *Ibid.*, p. 191.

child by nearly always siding with the father or telling the boy
that he had to accept the situation no matter how unjust it might
be. Although he was actually very superior, intellectually and
physically, it is easy to see that in time the boy developed a con-
cept of himself as an inferior person, almost constantly apprehensive
of failure.

In a textbook on mental hygiene the writer has listed five rela-
tionships between parents and children which bear upon the prob-
lem of learning anxiety.[8] This list can also be applied to the rela-
tionship between the child and any authoritative figure such as a
teacher. Using capital letters to represent the greater emphasis on
reward or punishment and uniform type to represent consistency
rather than variability in adult attitudes, the five types of relation-
ship between the children and their parents or teachers may be
indicated by the following diagram.

Love (reward) — Wrath (punishment)

LOVE (REWARD)

WRATH (PUNISHMENT)

Love (reward) — WRATH (PUNISHMENT)

LOVE (REWARD) — Wrath (punishment)

If love and wrath, reward and punishment, praise and blame
are given in approximately equal amounts and with little or no
consistency, the child is likely to become anxious since he is never
certain what the reaction of the teacher will be. The erratic pattern
leaves him confused and apprehensive. If the child is always praised
and rarely, if ever, criticized, he has very little opportunity to learn
how to differentiate. In such cases, the security which he experi-
ences is likely to be temporary, the anxiety coming in later years
when he finds that he is inadequately equipped to handle inter-
personal relationships which are not so protective. If there is per-
sistent punishment and rejection with little or no affection and
reward, as in the case of the college student previously mentioned,
the child may react to this rejection by rejecting himself, which,
in turn, will bring about anxiety since he is convinced that he is

[8] H. A. Carroll, *Mental Hygiene*, p. 198. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.,
1951 (2d edition).

incapable of dealing effectively with his interpersonal and his impersonal environment. If there is a little praise and reward but a great deal of blame and punishment, the child is likely to develop strong feelings of guilt. He has had enough praise from his teachers to know what it is like, but it is not enough. He blames himself for not being able to behave differently and so win greater acceptance. The relationship which is least likely to cause anxiety and, conversely, most likely to result in self-confidence is the one in which praise and other rewards definitely outweigh blame and punishment. The teacher who establishes this relationship with the children emphasizes that which has been well done but at the same time points out errors. With respect to discipline, he emphasizes self-control and co-operative behavior but occasionally punishes violations. In this situation the children are given opportunities to learn more and more about subject material and about relationships with other human beings in a safe atmosphere. They learn to feel certain that in most instances things are going to turn out all right. Apprehension is kept at a minimum. Anxiety remains well within the normal range.

Anxiety Inhibits New Learning. The normal child asks many questions. He is eager for information and interested in new experiences. A maladjusted child, on the other hand, may be rigid in his behavior and fearful of new situations. The basic difference between the two is often that the normal child is inhibited by excessive anxiety.

A teacher who controls the class by threat has set up a situation which makes learning on the part of the children very difficult. This applies especially to those youngsters in the class who have already learned anxiety in other situations. The tension accompanying the anxiety makes concentration difficult. It also causes blocks which shut off material previously learned. Moreover, it makes children afraid to explore new areas because in the new areas they are more likely to make mistakes for which they expect to be punished. On the other hand, a teacher who controls a class through understanding and reward creates an atmosphere in which the children feel secure. In this atmosphere of security, some anxiety is present, to be sure, but mild anxiety is not inhibitory. Actually, it spurs the person on to new achievements. Every person

possesses a drive for growth. If this drive is rewarded by a number of successes, he can tolerate a few failures. If, on the other hand, he has failed repeatedly, an anxiety which is created holds him back. The basic conflict here is the desire to go ahead versus fear of doing so. The teacher should make every effort to set up a situation in the classroom in which fear of going ahead is kept at a minimum.

Summary

The mental health of children is a major responsibility of our schools. With the exception of parents, teachers are in a position to do more than any other single group in the prevention of behavior disorders. If they are to work effectively at the task of laying a sound foundation of personality, they must understand the children whom they are teaching. They must know not only *what* children do and *how* they do it but *why* they do it.

In this chapter a brief look has been taken at two basic characteristics of human behavior: motivation and learning. All behavior is motivated by needs which are the inevitable result of the inherited nature of the organism and the nature of the experiences of that organism. Although these always overlap, four rather arbitrary needs have been discussed in this chapter: physical security, emotional security, mastery, and status. The extent to which all these needs are satisfied is directly related to mental health.

Human beings inherit the capacity to learn. What they learn depends upon their environment. Learning may be thought of as a complex series of adjustments, the adjustment sequence being: motivation, frustration and/or conflict, emotional tension, response, tension reduction, and effects. Under *response* comes the several adjustment mechanisms, a few of which have been discussed in this chapter.

The teacher should be especially concerned with the problem of anxiety since excessive anxiety is at the source of functional behavior disorders. One important means, then, of preventing such behavior disorders is to help children keep their anxiety well within the normal range. Anxiety is learned, and frequently it is learned in the school situation. Moreover, anxiety is accompanied by tension and rigidity and so restrains the child from learning new

material. In other words, his learning is inhibited, resulting in what Mowrer calls a learning deficit.

Self-confidence, like anxiety and an attitude of inferiority, is learned. It is learned when the child in his home and in his school is given an opportunity to try out many new forms of behavior in an atmosphere of security. He realizes that of course he is going to fail occasionally, but he is confident, too, that his elders, on occasion, will help him understand why he fails. He appreciates also that they will help him succeed and will not insist on his trying to achieve goals which are beyond his reach. He faces tomorrow with confidence because he is confident today.

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The Role of the Home in Mental Health

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

Among our human institutions, the home is at once the most ordinary and the most strange. It is, on the one hand, the commonplace expression of an instinct that belongs not to man alone but to the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air: the instinct that makes the parent creature provide a place for the growth of a new generation within each species. On the other hand, it is as strange as the nature that distinguishes man from all other beings—the nature that makes him both an individual and a member of a shared society and a cultural tradition.

In the home, perhaps more than in any other creation, we confront our human complexity. Yet we build our homes, the many millions of them, at country crossroads and along the streets of our towns and cities—and take them for granted. Why should we not take them for granted? They are to be seen in almost any direction we look. They are inhabited by all types of people. They are around us every day of our lives. They exist in every land we visit or read about. They are as ordinary as sunset and moonrise.

We could not, of course, manage life at all except for our capacity to be unsurprised at the surprising. We could not cook a meal, write a letter, or keep a machine in running order if we could not divert our minds from the fact that the human hand is an intricate marvel, not like anything else in creation; and we could not wall in a few cubic feet of space and establish there the intimate, necessary activities of a home if we could not take time out from being astonished at our capacity to do this thing. A large measure of obliviousness is, in short, requisite to our carrying on our complex daily life.

Yet because the triumph of obliviousness often means the defeat of mental and emotional distinction, it is as good for us, now and then, to look at the practices and institutions of our common days as it is for us to look at the familiar taken-for-granted face of the person whose life is most closely bound up with our own and realize how deeply unfamiliar it is: how much of unplumbed individuality and private experience lie back of its every expression.

What the Home Is

In exploring the role of the home in mental health, we do well, I believe, to begin by taking stock of what the home surprisingly is; for *what it is* determines what it can uniquely contribute to the mind's health—and determines also the mistakes that can be made within it to endanger that health.[1]

To begin with the obvious, then, the home is a physical entity. Big or little, rich or poor, orderly or cluttered, well kept or shabby, isolated or shoved tight against neighboring homes, it is a *place*. Specifically, it is a place within which the same few members of the human species are more or less constantly associated with one another, day after day, year after year; to which they all return from whatever activities they engage in elsewhere; and in which they all have a practical and emotional stake more important than their stake in any other place.

Again to point the obvious, the human beings thus intimately bound together as residents of the same home and members of the same family are normally of two sorts: parents and children. In psychological terms, this imposes a number of problems.

This is, of course, an oversimplification. In many homes there are those of different status whose role and whose rights—and whose personalities—are to be taken into account. There are the grandparents of the children, and they, in the nature of things, are parents or parents-in-law to the husband and wife. They are the

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[1] For an account of the way in which the home environment "moves into" the child, see Harry Stack Sullivan, *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry*, chap. iv (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953); Margaret Ribble, *The Rights of Infants, passim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); Marie Rasey, *Toward Maturity*, chap. 1 (New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, 1947). For a description of the internationalizing process, see Bonaro W. Overstreet, *Understanding Fear in Ourselves and Others*, p. 23 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951).

people who have brought into the world, and who have reared from infancy to adulthood, those who now are homemakers and parents. Certainly they have earned a place for themselves; but the nature of that place is often hard to define in practical and emotional terms that do justice to all the individuals involved.

Since our society does not define, as some societies do, the role of the grandparent in the home, the factual presence of grandfather or grandmother, or both, is something that each family tends to handle in its own way. Sometimes the handling is wise; sometimes it is grossly foolish. But rarely is it easy. It takes imagination, planning, and mutual consideration, for the pattern has to be, not a stereotype, but one that takes account of all the nuances of the special situation and of the personalities involved in it.

If the grandparent role is not clearly defined—and therefore variously defined—the role of other residents under the family roof is even less so: the role of aunts or uncles, cousins or brothers or sisters, who for one reason or another may be temporary or permanent parts of the family unit.

With these precautionary qualifications, however, we can return to our earlier thesis: In general, the family unit is made up of two generations—parents and children.

It means, for example, that the home roof overspans both those who are together by a choice they have made—the father and mother—and those who have been born into the situation without choice.

It means that two who live in the home—again, the father and mother—have come to it, and to the shaping of it, after having their basic conditioning to life elsewhere, while for the children the home is the place of first conditioning. It is the place, in short, that will determine their most tenacious appraisals of human experience.

It means that two who have a practical and emotional stake in the home have also, in some measure, a power and authority to determine its rules and arrangements, while the young ones who come along by birth have a similarly vital stake without having any similar power and authority.

It means, finally, that two members of the family unit—the father and mother—were reared separately but now intend to

remain together as long as they live, while the children who are being reared together, under the same roof and the same general frame of values, intend to grow into separateness of independent adulthood and to establish their own lifelong intimacies with contemporaries who are growing up under other roofs and whom, for the most part, they do not yet know or know about.

The difference in status between parents and children is not, of course, the only difference that distinguishes the members of a family from one another, colors their individual needs, and adds to the subtlety of their interrelationships. Obviously, there is also the difference in sex—between the parents and usually within the child group. There are differences in age among the children, with consequent differences in experience that are never wholly bridged by family sharings and mutual confidences. The oldest child and the youngest, for example, are born into significantly different frames of reference, and they form, as a result, different initial expectations about the human scene and their own place in it. Then there are differences of physical make-up: of resemblance to one or the other parent; of bodily attractiveness; of strength; of dexterity. And beyond these physical differences are the vital differences of temperament and aptitude—all these having to be somehow fairly accommodated under one roof, so that they can feel *at home* in the home.

Obviously, once more, the home is an economic unit. Perhaps we might better say that it is a material-economic unit; for it is not merely a place where money is earned, saved, and used but a place where the members of the family, jointly and as individuals, act out their interests and values in terms of material possessions. Whatever we human beings may be in our spiritual essence, we are, as we know ourselves, creatures of the earth earthly—in the sense that we both survive physically and fulfil our capacities through relationships with the material world beyond our own bodies. The home, for each member of the family, is among other things a place for concentrating possessions, taking care of them, using them, enjoying them, making plans about them, and deriving from them a sense of security and selfhood. Some of these possessions—such as the house itself and the car—are shared by all and are, or should be, makers of shared experience and memory.

Others are private and personal—and the question of how private and personal they are to be is one of the many delicate questions of family life. Who is to share what with whom? Who is to let whom else use what? Whose need for money to buy a new possession is most urgent? When should the individual be free to choose what he wants without asking anyone else? When does ownership carry with it the obligation to take care of what is owned? Such emotion-laden questions about the objects that bind the human individual to the material world are part and parcel of home life; and one of the miracles of that life is the fact that these strange and commonplace questions are so often worked out with a sensitivity to the nuances of need and feeling that would do credit to a trained diplomat.

Yet one final, obvious fact must be noted about this ordinary and startling institution we call the home; namely, that it is at once a self-contained, independent unit within a larger society and an intimate, dependent part of that society. The encircling walls of the home are simultaneously fact and fiction. Or perhaps we might better say that they exist on two levels of reality—on one of which they are substantial and opaque and on the other of which they are insubstantial and transparent.

The physicist recognizes that the table on which we write or the chair on which we sit is solid, dependable, and stationary enough for all our practical purposes. Yet he is able to say that the same table and chair are, at his level of scientific reality, made up of incredible numbers of atoms moving at incredible rates of speed; and that, far from being solid objects, they have in them infinitely more empty space than substance. In comparable fashion, we can state two types of truth about the walls and roof that enclose a home. In one sense, they keep out not only the weather but the world, making it possible for those who live within them to plan the use of space and possessions and to enjoy a privacy of action not invaded by the passer-by. In another sense, however, they are so far from being solid that the world enters at will and exerts its potent influence upon the minds, emotions, and activities of those who enter the home and shut the door after them.

In one of his poems, Carl Sandburg tells of a fence "made of iron bars with steel points" that he watched a group of workmen

putting up around a great new stone house on the lake front. As a fence, he acknowledged it to be a masterpiece: It would keep people out. "Passing through the bars and over the steel points will go nothing except Death and the Rain and Tomorrow." [2]

In much the same manner—declaring a man's home to be his castle—we might say that it is an area, cut out of the world's larger space, in which the family has an uninvaded chance to establish the pattern of activities and the basic value system it calls good; and that nothing will pass through the walls of the home without permission except the cultural heritage, the dominant attitudes of the community, and the social, political, economic, educational, and religious atmosphere of the time. These will enter, invited or not. And sometimes the members of the family will recognize their presence, welcoming it or resisting it as the case may be; and sometimes they will not recognize it at all but will think of themselves as acting independently when they are, in fact, responding to influences too strong and subtle to be opposed.

This, then, in hasty summary, is the kind of institution we are talking about when we try to appraise the role of the home in relation to mental health. In some respects, it is the most ordinary of our human creations. It is that into which almost everyone is born and by which he is conditioned throughout his early years. Also, it is that which almost everyone expects to help establish in his adulthood. Yet looked at from another angle, it is strange almost to the point of being incredible: strange with all the complexity of individual human nature, interpersonal relationships, a cultural tradition, and the atmosphere of an age. It is small wonder that the psychologist sees the home as a place of unique problems and unique promise—and that he urgently invites the homemaker to see it with similar vision.

Like the ancient Stoic philosopher Epictetus, each homemaker and each psychologist, of course, has to recognize that there are things within his power and things not within his power. Yet the home—in spite of all influences that play upon it—offers enough things that are within our power to keep us creatively occupied for all the lifetime at our command; and to the extent that we attend

[2] Carl Sandburg, "A Fence," *Complete Poems*, p. 16. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950.

to these things, with tenderness, insight, and skill, we stand a chance to make a vital contribution to the mental health not only of the individuals within our own family but to our larger society as well.

Basic Experiences

The unique power of the home stems from the fact that it gets the new human being first—before any other institution has had a chance to make an impression upon him—and it remains his chief environment for so long a time that its "design for living" tends to move into him (in psychiatric terms, to become *internalized*) and become inextricably part of himself before the world outside has any consistent chance to exert a modifying influence. Thus, *what life is experienced to be* in the home becomes, in large measure, for each individual, *what life is interpreted to be* in the wider human scene.

To put the matter another way, the home is the first and most powerful maker of the individual's expectations: about himself, other people, physical objects and materials, various activities and endeavors, society at large, and the enveloping universe. It is, therefore, the prime determinant of his manner of approaching situations—since he will inevitably gear his manner of approach to what he expects to have happen. By the logic of response, therefore, the home becomes also the prime determinant of what will come back to the individual out of the situations he enters.

Psychologically speaking, a good home—even in its most self-contained aspects—never operates without reference to the world outside. Its relationships, activities, and standards are "good" only if they are good for the full-ranging life the individual has to lead: only if they enable him to function happily, usefully, and creatively in situations outside the home as well as inside and in an ever-widening field of relationships. It is with this fact in mind that we can begin to appraise, one after another, the experiences conducive to mental health that should be, first, *home experiences* and then, more and more richly, *life experiences*.

There is one basic experience without which human existence is a dreary and defeating affair—and if it is not known and enjoyed within the family circle it is not likely to be realized elsewhere. This is *the experience of emotional warmth in interpersonal rela-*

tions. We could, perhaps, simply say the experience of loving and being loved. But somehow the ambiguous word *love* does not cover all we mean. Or perhaps it covers more than we mean. The important thing is for the home to be a place of *responsiveness*—in order that it may be a place in which each individual can feel that it is safe and right and natural to reach out toward life with his interests, curiosities, affections, and ingenuities; and that it is safe and right and natural to have needs, problems, and feelings and to let them be known.

We say and say again in our psychological writings—and cannot say too often—that the newborn human is helpless and dependent; that his sense of ill-being or well-being is a straight reflection of how he is cared for by the mother or mother-substitute; that his first experience of feeling right about himself stems from his being on the receiving end of tenderness; and that his first sense of accomplishment comes from his being able, even with his limited equipment for expression, to draw to himself in time of need the person who can satisfy his need. The emotional warmth that surrounds him in the first days and weeks of life is, so to speak, a reassuring substitute for the warmth and security of the womb. Because it guarantees him against the hazards of helplessness, it reduces anxiety to a manageable minimum and leaves him free *to grow* and *to grow toward:* to grow into the co-ordination of his own powers, and to grow toward the environment in which those powers are to be used.

We cannot say too often that the growing child finds in the responsive approval of his parents both the building blocks of his own self-confidence and sense of worth and the most satisfying incentive to master social skills even when these come hard and even when they go counter to his own impulses and immediate desires. A child may, of course, try to conform to rules and regulations even where emotional coldness is the order of the day. He may try, out of fear or out of a desperate need, for approval. Under these circumstances, however, a large measure of the energy he needs for growth and for the comprehension of the very rules and skills he is trying to master will be diverted into anxious self-concern. The processes of socialization, we can quite definitely say, are never deeply and happily successful except in an atmos-

phere of affection and understanding: that is, of emotional warmth.

A prevailing atmosphere of warmth is, moreover, that which enables the human being, young or old, to assimilate hurts and disappointments without being bowled over by them; for it is in this warmth of interpersonal response that the individual finds, as it were, a reassuring promise that even in the darkest hour all is not lost: that he is not alone, and that there are still alternative good things to be hoped for in life.

Beyond this, moreover, the atmosphere of warmth is that which lets a person take a realistic view of his own shortcomings and failures—so that he can accept them as facts and learn from them, and move beyond them, instead of getting lost in either blind self-defensiveness or the sort of self-hatred that all too easily projects itself as a destructive hostility toward others.

Yet a further thing to note about emotional warmth is that it makes possible—in spite of individual differences and of recurrent stresses and antagonisms—the sustained pattern of family sharing: of working together, playing together, laughing together, planning together, sorrowing together. Thus, it enables the growing individual to consolidate within himself those flexibilities of give and take which alone can make him, throughout life, enjoy being part of the fallible but companionable human race.

The kind of emotional warmth we are talking about here is experienced by each individual member of a sound family as something he can count on. It attaches to him in his uniqueness and will still be there as one of the bedrock dependabilities of life even when he has performed badly or expressed "negative" feelings. Thus it becomes, so to speak, his license to be spontaneously and creatively himself. No member of the family, however, experiences it as *exclusively* his, as something that sets him apart from the others and makes him special in privilege. It belongs to him as a person, not as a pet. It belongs to him as a member of the family, but not as the family favorite. It affirms his worth—among people of equal worth. It is, moreover, not only a family feeling but a feeling for life: a conviction, at once tenacious and creative, that the human enterprise is worth participating in and that human beings, for all their stupidities and shortcomings, are worth caring about. Where this type of warmth characterizes a home, all the other character-

istics that make it a place conducive to mental and emotional health are likely to be found also—and to be acted out as naturally as breathing.

Respect for Privacy

One such additional characteristic will be a firm respect for the individuality and uniqueness of each member of the family.

We might set down here three insights that have become so well established that we can call them psychological axioms. One is that no human being can be his best self if he is always trying to be someone else instead of himself. The second is that he cannot be his best self unless he enjoys a reasonable self-respect and sense of worth. The third is that—particularly in childhood, but in some measure throughout life—his estimate of himself reflects the treatment he receives from the key figures in his environment; it is not something he makes out of nothing, but something he makes of other people's responses to him. As others see him, so he gradually tends to see himself.

Since the home is the place where the young human being shapes his first and most tenacious self-appraisal, the home must—if it is to promote mental health—help each child to believe that the self he unescapably is and must remain is good enough to live with for a lifetime. Otherwise, the burden of being himself may prove emotionally intolerable.

We know only too well on the basis of clinical evidence what some of the common mistakes are that are made in the home. One for example, is that of making a child—or grown-up, for that matter—feel that he is physically inadequate: clumsy, unattractive, disappointing. We witness this sort of thing where a mother exhibits an exaggerated despair over the fact that her daughter has not inherited her own beautiful curls or her own petite femininity. We witness it again where an athletic father shows his contempt for a frail son; or where the parents express regret that one child is not as attractive as another; or where they overemphasize one physical characteristic by making fun of it or making it the basis of a nickname. Another mistake—or we might say, another sin against human individuality—is evidenced where one child's interests and aptitudes are treated as of less worth than those of another

child; or where a child's own natural interests are made secondary to parental ambition.

We used to think that human beings had to be prevented, by and large, from exaggerating their own importance or thinking too well of themselves. More and more, however, as clinical evidence accumulates, we are coming to realize that a far more difficult and widespread necessity is that of helping people like themselves and trust themselves enough so that they can go toward the problems and opportunities of life with their interest and attention foscused upon objective reality—not anxiously focused upon themselves. This type of self-confidence—the type that lets a person both *be himself* and *forget himself*—is rarely established later in life if it is not established in his childhood, if it is not established as a reflection of the confidence that the members of his own family have in him as a person.

Another characteristic of a sound home—closely related, perhaps, to the one we have just discussed—is a respect for privacy. No one can become himself—and become deeply and happily acquainted with himself—if he never has an uninterrupted chance to be alone or if his thoughts, activities, and possessions are subject to constant invasion.

An elementary-school teacher once told me of a student—a nine- or ten-year-old boy—who hung around after class one day until he finally got up courage enough to ask her whether he could maybe have some place at school to keep some of his things, particularly his rock collection. At home he had no place, not even a shelf or a drawer, that his younger brother wasn't allowed to get into; and his parents thought it was amusing if this brother upset his whole collection. And it wasn't only his brother. It was his father and mother also; they never seemed to feel that anything was privately his own. On the verge of angry tears, he finally summed up his desperate plight: "They treat me as if . . . as if I was a kind of hallway for everyone to walk through!"

It is not easy, under today's crowded conditions, to provide each member of a family with physical space to call his own. Yet *some* place, however small, must be his—and secure against thoughtless or prying invasion. For it is only where he can make the arrangements of things *as he wants them*—even if only in a drawer or on

a set of shelves—that the individual learns to establish his own personal code of order (as distinct from one he has learned by obedience or simple contagion) and his own creative relationship to the materials and objects through which he finds his unique interests.

Even where physical space is scant, moreover, there can be psychic space and privacy: There can be the kind of atmosphere in the home that insures each individual against emotional peeking and prying. The writer herself remembers, for example—with warm gratitude—that when she was at the "diary age" of adolescence, and was confiding to the pages of a notebook a host of emotional experiences she could not have talked about to anyone, it was completely safe at home for her to leave her diary lying anywhere; no one would look into it. Similarly, she recalls that her childhood efforts to write poems and stories were allowed to be her own; her parents were always interested when she was ready to read them something she had written, but they waited upon her readiness; they did not demand or invade.

Since it is essential to mental health that the individual develop inner resources of interest and belief—resources that are not merely borrowed; that are not dictated—in order that he may be independent enough to enjoy other people without clutching at them possessively, it is likewise essential that he have some uninterrupted chance to make his own acquaintance. Where there is no privacy, there is not likely to be any secure depth of personality. Rather, there will tend to be a dependence upon outer "props"; a dependence that will make the individual possessive in his relationships and—to secure himself against being left out—a sterile conventionality in his approach to life situations.

Beyond the Family

To respect individuality and to grant a reasonable privacy: These have to do, as it were, with recognizing the human being in his separate selfhood. All his life, however, the individual will have to be himself through association with other people. To know how to be happy with others is certainly as important for the members of a social species as to know how to be happy on one's own.

Here, we can note several characteristics of a sound home. The first, perhaps, is that it makes the sharing of work, play, and planning a "natural." The parents' chief ally, when it comes to involving the children in shared projects, is the urgency of growth itself; unless they have been made to doubt their own adequacy for life, the young ones in a home *want* to be in on things that make them feel related to their own future adulthood. They "practice" adulthood not only by playing doll or playing at being an engineer or an airplane pilot but also by being variously apprenticed, as it were, to adulthood through shared plans and activities in which they—the children of different ages—and their parents are alike involved.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of an active family togetherness; for it is through this togetherness that the young learn to be part of a society: a society made up of people of different ages and capacities, different sexes, different outlooks. Flexibility, the power of give and take, the capacity to laugh *with* rather than *at* other people, a sense of willing responsibility—all these are warmly encouraged by enterprises that are *family* enterprises: enterprises in which the contribution of each individual is respected, in which the ideas of each are given a hearing, and in which set-backs and disappointments are so shared that they are tolerable and are not felt to be signs of personal inadequacy.

A further point, too, about family sharing deserves emphasis these days. We have come to know that the type of society we cherish—the free, democratic society—depends for its strength upon the presence of individuals who are capable of being free and of acting democratically. We have come to know that many of the threats now faced by our democracy stem from the attitudes and behaviors of people who did not, in their growing years, gain any intimate feeling for democracy through the practices of the home. They grew up, to be sure, within an overspanning political democracy. But in the home, they experienced anarchy or tyranny —and built their personal habits and outlooks accordingly. In their adulthood, therefore, they have talked democracy but have actually had no emotional capacity to want democracy or to practice it. If a society is to be sound, the multitudinous homes within it must be small "laboratories" for the establishment of its ways of sound-

ness; and for us, with our culture, this can only mean that those homes must be places of responsible, creative, and happy democratic sharing.

The type of initiation into society that the home affords ought not, of course, to be exclusively that of family enterprises. A sound home—the kind that promotes the mental health of all its members —is a hospitable home. If it is not so, the very intimacies of family sharing may leave individuals unprepared for association with the human race at large: unprepared for friendship, for the fellow-ship of work, for marriage and parenthood. Everything, in short, that comes along in life *after* the experience of growing up may seem an anticlimax—and a lonely, unmanageable one.

James Stephens has given us a vivid picture of the kind of home that emphatically does not prepare anyone for fulfilment and happy freedom:

> We dive, each man, into his secret house,
> And bolt the door, and listen in affright,
> Each timid man beside a timid spouse,
> With timid children huddled out of sight.[3]

Where the home is thus a hiding place, no amount of shared intimacy within its walls can make it other than unhealthy; for its exclusive self-containment denies the basic fact that each member of the family is also a member of the human race.

Properly understood, one of the happiest privileges that parents can have is that of introducing youngsters to the species to which they belong—and which they must like, respect, and enjoy if they are, in any deep sense, to like, respect, and enjoy themselves. A sound home, then, we must emphasize again, is a hospitable home. It is one where friends and neighbors are welcomed when they come—and are talked about with good will rather than ill will after they leave. It is one where friends and neighbors, moreover, make up a kind of "sampling" of fine human types rather than merely a duplication of the family types.

In one home—a home where there are three children, the oldest of them about nine—the young parents have managed somehow to make their place into one where people of widely different ages

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[3] James Stephens, "The Road," *Songs from the Clay.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1915.

and occupations and backgrounds come and feel "at home." Although there are no teen-agers in the family, for example, it is not at all unusual for a group of teen-agers to come there when they have new phonograph records they want to try out—for they know that no one will object if they roll back the rug and dance. Neither is it unusual for elderly neighbors to drop in. Among those who come, moreover—and who stay, as often as not, to take "pot-luck" at the family table—are people who range in occupation from carpenters to college professors and in background from "old family" to first-generation American. The hospitality of this home seems effortless—because no one is keeping up a front. It is, we might say, simply a contagious expression of good will and of interest in life. Whatever its source, it is having the effect of making the children happily "at home" with the fact that they are members of the human race.

Hospitality to Ideas

Hospitality, of course, extends to ideas, fields of knowledge, problems and possibilities of life, quite as truly as to people. Since every person is born ignorant—and born to the necessity of life-long learning—a sound home is one in which learning is treated as a "natural": neither as a foolish waste of time nor as a burdensome chore. It is treated as a normal expression of the human being's wish to know his way around in the scheme of things and to be competent rather than fumbling in his handling of situations.

A home that makes it seem natural *to want to know* will almost inevitably be one, moreover, marked by a certain emotional steadiness—an absence of panic in the face of problems. The reason is twofold: In such a home there is a habit of thinking of answers to questions and problems as something that can be found, or at least partially found, if one has the willingness and patience to look for them; and there is also an accumulated reserve of knowledge and insight against which immediate situations can be seen in proportion.

This matter of proportion is tremendously important today. Fear, hostility, and a sense of impending disaster now taint the social atmosphere to such an extent that no home—and no child

in any home—can be wholly free from their influence. What the home can provide, however, by its practices and by the contagion of parental attitude, is a sense of proportion that comes from seeing immediate problems projected against the long experience of the human race on earth.

Acceptance and Fulfilment

The very thing that makes human experience complicated is what makes it, or can make it, rewarding: namely, its variety and richness of texture. Each person, child or adult, is emotionally drawn to both the familiar and the unfamiliar—and he lives well only to the extent that he can harmonize these competing tugs within himself. Each person, again, is both uniquely himself and a sample of the species; an *individual* and a *member of*. Each person is destined both to grow up and to remain, in many respects, a child; to acquire many kinds of knowledge and to remain, in many respects, ignorant; to take on independence and yet to remain deeply dependent. Each person experiences both friendly and hostile emotions, both creative and destructive impulses. And so we might go on: It is as though everything we can say about ourselves has to be matched by a contradictory statement before it approximates truth.

A home promotes mental health, it would seem, to the extent that it is simultaneously able to accept each individual as he is—with all his incompleteness and inner contradictions—and to give him a chance to fulfil his potential. Such a home does not try to rule out aspects of nature that cannot be ruled out. Neither does it try to make certain virtues the *all* of life. The strength of personality that it encourages is not, in brief, a product of expurgation but of integration. It lets the individual be himself—under conditions where all others have equal rights—in order that he may work his own way toward such an approximate *wholeness* as is possible to a creature who carries within himself the intricacy of the physical and cultural heritage of mankind. While he is thus *being himself* and *becoming himself*, it affords a sustaining companionship and a code of values that go with him but do not hold him back.

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The Role of the School in Mental Health

WILLARD C. OLSON

and

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

The development of a healthy personality is influenced by all the individuals and institutions which play a part in socializing the child. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the most potent of these forces is the parent-child relationship. Within the home during the preschool years, each young human being experiences fundamental emotional learnings which help form the basic pattern which will evolve in later years and will be confirmed or modified by subsequent experiences.

Of the major institutions which take up the processes begun in the home, the next most influential is the school. Most youngsters, some time during their sixth or seventh years, enter a new world to live five or six hours a day in relatively large groups with their age-mates under conditions established by a hitherto unknown adult, the teacher. Furthermore, in this new setting the business of learning, whether it be of skills, or information, or social behavior, has a high priority.

Stendler and Young [1] investigated some aspects of the ways in which children are prepared for this new area of experience. Within some homes, for example, school is regarded as a place where children must toe the line, or where the relationships already being demanded by adults will stand them in good stead. For others, school is presented as an opportunity for adventure. Each child, therefore, as he enters school already carries attitudes derived from

[1] Celia Burns Stendler and Norman Young, "The Impact of Beginning First Grade upon Socialization as Reported by Mothers," *Child Development*, XXI (December, 1950), 241-60.

his home. If a youngster's approach to learning is one of self-confidence, and if school confirms his self-expectations, healthy personality development is well under way.

In later years, the continuity between home and school is cross-sectional as well as longitudinal. That is to say, the carry-over takes place on a day-to-day basis as well as in terms of the products of one year being felt in later periods. Thus, during preadolescence, the boy or girl will be working on problems of relationship with his peers. If home and school unite in aiding social facility, the reinforcement can lead to happy outcomes. Also, as children wrestle with problems of controlling impulses which arouse guilt, they may benefit from support given by well-structured group life in a classroom. Clearly, as they strive toward adulthood, they gain strength from success in mastering necessary techniques, whether these be encountered in school, home, or neighborhood.

Character of a Nurturing School Environment

In view of such considerations, educators feel the need for evidence as to what should be the general character of a school environment that will nurture individuality in a context of social relationships and responsibilities. In search of this type of environment, educational practice has veered from harsh imposition of "good habits" toward the opposite extreme of unfettered "self-expression," and then toward a new course based upon understanding of needs and maturation.

It would be difficult to cite the results of any single experiment which "proves" beyond cavil the merits of any single school program. Rather, statements as to the value of various aspects of school experience rest upon material from a larger number of sources. On the positive side, there are studies depicting the normal course of child and adolescent development, the relationship between school learning and maturational readiness, the products of in-service training programs aimed at giving teachers an understanding of young people, the results of child-rearing practices in other societies as described by anthropologists, and successes in emotional re-education in individual treatment or group therapy. On the negative side we have the testimony of child guidance experts and studies showing the part played by school in the lives of juvenile

delinquents as well as follow-up investigations of schools' failures and of the many pupils who quit school too early.

All this evidence tends to converge in emphasizing the importance of several qualities. A mentally healthful school environment will gear the tasks confronting young folks to the unfolding abilities, interests, and needs of the learners. In this environment children will taste a maximum of success in the sense that young folks after putting forth effort will reach goals important to them. This implies a necessary flexibility which takes into account individual differences of all sorts. The social relationships, both pupil-pupil and teacher-pupil, will be such as to promote feelings of self-respect and fulfilment for all individuals involved.

As to teacher-pupil relationships, these will be founded upon giving help to learners. This means that the teacher, avoiding the opposite perils of too much domination and of chaos-breeding abdication, will seek to create an orderly group life founded upon a maximum of pupil participation. Above all, the teacher's efforts will be aimed at developing a classroom atmosphere which enables youngsters to interact constructively. This will keep to a minimum destructive group dynamics symptomized in excessive tattling, scapegoating, and bitter clique rivalries. Competition will be held to the level of self-testing, so much a part of American adult and child culture. Youngsters, who come to school already distorted or damaged, will find help rather than punishment, acceptance rather than fresh rejections.

Fundamental Concepts

Within the general picture given above are a number of fundamental concepts as to what produces mental health, or, by contrast, what gives rise to personality distortions. Some of these concepts relate to the nature of childhood; others focus more sharply on the qualities of group life. The more significant of these will be briefly described.

Security and Trust. The key importance of security was recognized long before its significance was underlined by the findings of modern psychiatry. In the *Hitopadesa,* one of the ancient Hindu scriptures, it was stated: "Of all gifts, the greatest, as they say here,

is neither the gift of land, nor the gift of gold, nor the gift of food, but the gift of security." [2]

To a child, security can be equated with being safe and being trusted. It may be fostered by having comfortable routines and by having his inner controls supported in a group where threatening "bad" conduct is kept in check. Pre-eminently it means that his personal integrity is protected against unreasonable demands or baseless accusations, that the group in which he lives will not try to hurt him or to seduce him into serious mischief.

In schools, occasional teachers strive deliberately to create insecurity. Operating on the theory that children have to be motivated (coerced) into learning, they goad their young charges with threat after threat. As report-card times draw near, they build anxiety around examinations, to the point where the more vulnerable youngsters develop veritable examination panics so severe that they cannot recall facts which they know. In a series of studies, Frenkel-Brunswik [3] and her co-workers have documented the finding that children raised on a regime of fear tend to develop rigid personalities.

Acceptance vs. Rejection. Allied to feelings of security are the attitudes of acceptance or rejection which a child encounters on the part of his age-mates and the significant adults in his life. By acceptance is implied a tendency to welcome the youngster into affectional relations "for himself alone." In this sense, the relationship can be said to belong to the child regardless of his intelligence, conduct, sex, size, or race. The reverse, rejection, connotes exclusion, a pushing aside or denying of needs to form bonds of close relationship. The rejected child, in his associations with his parents, classmates, or teachers, meets with impatience, indifference, or anger directed against him as a person.

Put in the terminology familiar to psychiatry, acceptance means that a child has many of his wishes gratified. The person who serves as a source of gratification is likely also to become an object of identification. Wishing to retain the gratification, the youngster

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[2] *The Bible of the World*, p. 159. Edited by Robert O. Ballou. New York: Viking Press, 1939.

[3] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "A Study of Prejudice in Children," *Human Relations*, I (1948), 295-306.

will want to learn and to emulate. Phrased this way, the term "gratification" is sometimes misunderstood and taken to call for sentimental indulgence. Rather, it means, for example, that if a pupil finds that his teachers try to help him attain success, he will discover that learning serves as an integrating experience. In this sense, a teacher's classroom procedures tend to be integrative, as opposed to dominative.[4]

Differences among Children. The concept of individual differences as related to intelligence is a familiar one. Evidence as to the origin and nature of personality indicate that differences may be recognized in many other dimensions. When they come to school, youngsters vary in personal tempo, dependency needs, aggressiveness, sociality, and kindred qualities. Accordingly, classroom procedures must be modified to take such differences into account.

Differences in Social Expectancies. A series of recent studies has revealed that at different socioeconomic levels subcultural forces lead to somewhat different expectancies as to child behavior. A teacher may find it difficult to understand young folks whose experiences have been foreign to his own. As a consequence, some boys and girls find school a place where they are thrown into serious conflicts. Illustrations drawn from the high-school level have been carefully documented by Hollingshead.[5]

The Interactive Process. Another basic concept deals with the nature of social processes in groups. Interaction, rather than linear cause-and-effect chains, is typical. Thus, to take a simple illustration, too great stress on examinations may lead to cheating. Successful dishonesty may be contagious. Its prevalence arouses suspicions in the teacher, who begins to behave like a policeman. A vicious spiral is set up. The relations between classmates and between teachers and pupils are poisoned. Anxiety, bitterness, and punitiveness increase. More complex interplays of personalities are commonplace. Accordingly, teachers need to view classroom situa-

[4] For one illustration, see: H. H. Anderson and H. M. Brewer, *Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities: II, Effects of Teachers' Dominative and Integrative Contacts on Children's Classroom Behavior.* Applied Psychology Monographs, No. 8. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1946.

[5] August M. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939.

tions as wholes and to see children's behavior as imbedded organismically in their total life patterns. The unit for thought becomes such ideas as "group atmosphere," two-way teacher-pupil relationships, contagion, and clique formation rather than single variables that can be manipulated cook-book style.

Balance between Freedom and Control. The above-mentioned considerations come to a head in some oversimplified thinking about freedom, control, permissiveness and punitiveness. It is clear that children thrive in an atmosphere of freedom. However, they also need to have "structure" given to the situations in which they live. By the same token, they gain much from teachers who stress permissiveness, yet also find comfort when adults firmly set limits to behavior by punishing misdeeds. Now, no one of these tendencies is a variable of which one can say that, without limit, the more the better. To be emotionally sustaining, a classroom must move toward an optimum combination of both freedom and control. A teacher should display permissive attitudes but know when to be strict. To be sure, the over-all tendencies are, to some extent, still apt to be weighted on the side of control and punitiveness. However, the movement toward a better balance may also be impeded by the bad effects of those rare but too-often-cited instances where freedom and permissiveness have been carried to extremes. The task before educators is to achieve a balance. This balance will not be the same in every classroom. Rather, it will be determined by the personality of the teacher, the home-life of individual pupils, the developmental needs of each age level, and the nature of learning activities.

The Nature and Meaning of Frustration. Similarly, oversimplified sloganizing has muddied thinking about "frustration." Taking sides without due consideration, some educators equate frustration with aggression, neuroticism, and other emotional disturbances. Others point out that in "real life" everyone meets frustrations. *Ergo,* if school is to be a realistic preparation for life, it should expose youngsters to large doses of frustrating experiences.

In fact, mild frustrations, obstacles on the paths to goals, call forth learning. The very term, "problem," implies some degree of frustration. Without it there could be no problem-solving process. The point is that mild frustration, which youngsters can surmount with reasonable effort, is emotionally strengthening. However, seri-

ous frustrations which confront any individual with repeated failure is disintegrating, giving rise to anxieties so great that they can only be expressed in maladaptive ways. One can view teaching as a process whereby the frustrations confronting a young child are so controlled that he may have success in overcoming most of them and thereby gain adequacy in dealing with life situations and with his own inner conflicts.

Role of Ego Strength

From two rather different schools of therapy has come realization that, especially in childhood, mental health is dependent upon the strength of the ego, the wholesomeness of the self-concept. As psychoanalysts gained more experience with children as contrasted with adult neurotics, they have more and more stressed understanding of ego psychology. Meanwhile, the proponents of client-centered counseling, led by Carl Rogers, have found their work consisting largely of helping clients gain a self-concept which leads to inner harmony.

Growing out of these clinical findings have come some clear implications which the school can utilize. When a child literally "throws himself into" learning efforts at which he succeeds, his self-concept takes on a tone of confidence. In different terminology, ego involvement in consequential tasks which are accomplished makes for future willingness to invest the ego in significant learning activities.

This gives a deeper meaning to the phrase, "self-expression." By helping children express themselves well, we aid them in establishing the very conditions which make for good mental health. The importance of this is highlighted by the place accorded occupational therapy in rehabilitative programs. To work at interesting tasks, which result in a feeling of inner completeness, and to learn that one can be one's self successfully are experiences which schools can provide. Indeed, such experiences are in the true idiom of education.

Administrative Readjustments

The above considerations make it imperative to scrutinize many school practices. To a large extent, the success of teachers in day-to-day guidance of learning activities depends upon the solu-

tion of certain administrative problems. In this section we shall examine a few of these as necessary preliminaries to later sections dealing with techniques for understanding children and providing appropriate curriculum experiences.

Graded Entrance. Although some school systems have successfully developed flexible procedures for taking into account the individual differences of beginning pupils, too many still toss all pupils, including some who are unready, into situations practically guaranteeing failure to this often large minority. When this happens, administrative convenience becomes synonymous with psychological nonsense, as far as the unprepared minority is concerned.

It is essential that the induction of children into school experiences be done through graded procedures which not only take account of their present readiness for reading and social life but also strengthen those without the necessary readiness until they can cope with whatever learning activities will be next on the agenda of their school experience. This implies greater use of devices such as reading-readiness classes, junior primary grades, and similar measures.

Home-School Relations. Two-way communication between home and school is essential. This means that parents must be brought closer to the schools. It also means that the whole machinery of reports to the home needs to be re-evaluated. Too often the implication of most reports is that the home should "co-operate" either by praising the "good achievers" or punishing those who "do not measure up." The uninformative letter-grades and rating scales may well be replaced by carefully conceived conferences.[6] To bring about such a change calls for a high order of administrative skill. That this is not easy can be realized when school systems using conferences feel it would be better to return to report cards.

Problems of Classification. Also involved at an administrative level are problems of classification, failure, and promotion. The goal for procedures in this field is to place every child in a group where the social relationships and learning activities are such as to afford him the optimum of success experiences. These procedures, in turn,

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[6] Illustrative of problems involved, see summaries of viewpoints in Muriel W. Brown's, *Partners in Education*, chap. iv. Washington: Association for Childhood Education, International, 1950.

depend upon the nature of classroom activities and the availability of special facilities to aid teachers in dealing with exceptional individuals.

Provision for Expert Assistance. Ideally, provision should be made for the services of experts who know how to give effective aid to those children whose problems have small hope of being successfully resolved by teachers under ordinary conditions. Now recognized as minimal is the provision of adequate child study personnel, school social workers (visiting teachers), and counselors. Also needed is a trained staff which is able to undertake remedial work in reading and speech. A few school systems also provide access to psychiatric consultation.

If such facilities are to be utilized effectively, it is important that teachers be kept up to date on what is available and learn better the signs that indicate a child is in need of special help. A full listing of diagnostic criteria can hardly be accomplished within the space limits of this chapter. Among the signs which teachers will learn to appraise are: behavior inappropriate to the age level of the child, persistency of difficulties, behavior which does not yield to ordinary measures, compulsivity of conduct, inadequate comprehension of reality, and the existence of unfavorable, objective life situations.[7]

The school that has accepted a state of physical, social, and emotional well-being as an objective and has accepted general principles and practice conducive to the objective still has a need for aid on more specific ways and means. These may be grouped under two broad headings: techniques for understanding the child and instructional materials. In practice, both aspects are commonly intertwined. Understanding produces changes in experiences for children, and the effective use of instructional materials also assists understanding.

Techniques for Understanding the Child

Problems or crises important for the mental health of the child often occur as a result of some discrepancy between the child's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors and the expectancies of the mem-

[7] For a more complete discussion, see: Fritz Redl and William W. Wattenberg, *Mental Hygiene for Teachers.* New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1951.

bers of the home or the classroom teachers. Conflicts are often resolved and anxieties minimized when there is understanding. Some people have come to expect mental-health consequences only from active steps to change the situation. The reality is that an important part of the problem is simply understanding, even when no deliberate positive steps are subsequently introduced. It is for this reason that child study has, throughout the decades, been an important phase of the preparation of professional workers with children. The techniques used may be informal if the goal is understanding and practical help, or they may become very technical if the goal is a contribution to scientific theory. Most of the techniques to be described can be handled at a number of different levels of accuracy and analysis depending upon the goal.

It should be noted that many approaches to mental health are unvalidated in the strict sense of being able to relate an effect to a cause or to prove that a line of action will result in improvement in the direction, amount, and durability sought. Some workers, for example, disparage the general-understanding approach by arguing that most disturbance comes from unconscious psychological determinants requiring entirely different methods for successful results. Until more definite work is done, it is necessary for teachers to work with what is available and promising.

The Use of Observation. The simplest approaches to child study usually involve some record of child behavior as made by a recorder. Much of our knowledge of infant development accumulated in this fashion. Most of our impressions about persons and events come from seeing and listening. If now the observer sets himself the task of making a record of what he sees and hears, an important step in child study has begun. The observer at once becomes conscious of the need for precision in making a record, of the importance of making a record at the time an event occurs, of the growth in significance of observations if they are maintained over a period of time, and of patterns of relationship and change that are revealed. In a particular classroom or in a school system, the recording process may be formalized to such an extent as to insure that something is obtained for each child, that the record is made systematically, and that the materials find their way into a cumulative record. Through self-study and in-service study, the skill

in making and interpreting the record and in using it as a conference tool with the child and the parent may grow. The teacher may find organized assistance in the making of anecdotal or journal entries in many sources and in most standard textbooks.[8]

Informal Contacts, Conferences, and Interviews. Another basic way of learning more about children is to carry on conversations with them, to have informal talks with their parents, or to ask specific questions which would assist in understanding. The basic technique for reconstructing the past and understanding the present is often a conference or interview situation. While the technique is often an individual one, it can also be used as a small-group or classroom technique. A basic virtue of the informal talk, conference, or interview in a mental-health program is that it is commonly motivated by an attempt to understand rather than to enforce some preconceived notion of the situation based upon averages or general trends which may or may not be applicable in the particular instance. A talk with a child gives the perspective of the child's world, and previously inexplicable behavior may now become rationalized.

In order to eliminate some of the worst features of routine marking systems, a large number of schools have substituted conferences with parents or with the child, if of an appropriate age. Triangular conferences, involving parent, child, and teacher, have also been used. Such methods have the added value of maintaining a systematic contact with the parents, engaging in an educational process, and obtaining home information that is a useful supplement to the kinds of observation that can be made in school.

Sociometry. Sociometry has grown rapidly in favor as a device for the study of social acceptance and relationships between children in the classroom. In its simplest form, sociometry is based upon a simple test or questionnaire in which the members of a class are asked to nominate other children for associates in various situations. It thus has in it aspects of popularity and of social acceptance. The sociometric test is developed at times by the teacher to fit the particular situation being studied. If the interest is simply in the matter of friendships, for example, the questions may con-

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[8] See, for example, Willard C. Olson, *Child Development*, Appendix D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949.

cern choice of associates for attendance at motion pictures, for a play, or for luncheon. On the other hand, questions may also be devised to secure choice of associates for reading groups, for committees, or for seating.

The sociometric test yields quantitative scores when choices are simply tabulated for the number of choices a child receives, but the results may also be given qualitative analysis so as to show the patterns of relationship that exist between members of a group or subgroups within the total group. Since it is difficult to visualize purely numerical results, it is a very common practice to place the detail on a sociogram so as to view the relationships in a class in graphic form.

The common finding in all classrooms is that some children secure very many choices and may be called stars and, under appropriate conditions, leaders. Others are neglected or isolated or actively rejected by members of a classroom group. The procuring of sociometric data has become such a simple process that many persons have engaged in it, and manuals are now available from a number of centers of investigation.[9]

The results of sociometric tests yield important information for the mental health of the classroom. Since, however, the test and sociogram are insufficient to tell the whole story or to constitute a treatment process, it should only be thought of as a beginning. One very important fact yielded by some sociometric procedures is the child's perception of his role in the group and his aspirations. It may require an interview process to determine whether or not a child is content with his status and has an adequate feeling of belonging. Some children who do not get many choices have a few firm friends and like to engage in activities in which there is a large individual element. What one would do in such cases would differ from the concern with individuals who were not accepted, who worry about it, and who are constantly striving for attention and become noisy and troublesome. Informal contacts and interviews are very interesting and helpful follow-ups for the sociometric procedure and employ another important principle, i.e., a child has an opportunity to externalize his tensions. The sociometric

[9] A helpful beginning may be made by securing Mary L. Northway's *A Primer of Sociometry*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952.

results may also be used in classroom management for the arrangement of groups and committees and in dealing thoughtfully with the physical arrangements in such matters as the noon luncheon, seating, and the location of possible conflicts based upon race, social class, religion, or other properties of groups.

Persons who have worked extensively with sociometric materials have felt that the consequences of use were, on the whole, desirable. In general, however, it is inadvisable for the teacher to include negative items in the test, i.e., items which might in themselves suggest lines of bias or rejection. One of the reasons for avoiding the use of such items is that, even when they are readily accepted by the children, questions are raised by parents and by members of the community. Preventive mental hygiene in classrooms may well stress at all points the constructive and positive approach.

It is clear that the remedial aspects of the sociometric process cannot be taught as easily as the technique for procuring data. Effective plans are based upon the entire educational preparation and the special education in guidance and counseling of the particular individual. In the interests of sound mental hygiene, the classroom teacher should proceed only so far as there is confidence and adequacy of preparation for the proposed change or educational program. A good start is to try to understand the inwardness of the status materials reflected by the tests by putting together all that can be known or is available for children at the extremes of acceptance and nonacceptance. This is sufficient to impress a person with the fact that the differences are profound as to their roots in personality. Many teachers have been surprised that steps that were taken to improve the social structure of a group showed such little change in a follow-up evaluation after a period of months. This is characteristic of all attempts at change where life histories of persons as well as the social structures of particular groups are involved. There is some encouragement from the theory of the cumulative impact of small differences.

Projective Techniques. In a very real sense, all of the language, behavior, and production of a child is some reflection or projection of an internal state. A child is continuously telling something about himself, although just what it is he is telling may defy even the most astute observer and interpreter. A large number of projective

devices have been designed in order to secure from children responses to materials which are standard. Projective tests, however, differ from other tests in that there are no right or wrong answers. There are simply differences in the ways in which children respond to the stimulating materials and the kinds of stories they thus tell about themselves. Perhaps the Rorschach test is the most widely used device of this type. It is based upon a variation of the old ink-blot technique. Many versions of the Thematic Apperception Test are based upon responses to pictures. There are also many forms of the sentence-completion test in which the way a child completes a sentence tells you something of his history and present state.

The projective tests have made their chief contribution as a device to assist in developing understanding. They have not demonstrated their general usefulness as devices for personnel or academic selection or for the prediction of future or more complex events. Because of the sophistication needed to understand and interpret most projective tests, their use by classroom teachers is not generally advocated. On the other hand, the principles involved are of general usefulness and applicable to much of a child's production in the classroom. For example, a child's choice of what to do in a nondirected period in a classroom tells a teacher something about him. Thus, a child's selection of colors and theme in painting or drawing with a possible running soliloquy gives insight into a thought and feeling process. Some supplementary interrogation may add additional facts. Children, while writing stories in the classroom, have told much of themselves and of their perception of the world, of the family, of the classroom, and of the teacher. In one instance, at least, such a story constituted a complete reconstruction of a delinquent act that the child had committed. In the very young child, the way in which dolls and household equipment are exploited tell an interesting story of personality.

On the therapeutic side, another important principle involved in thinking about production as projection is that the process may be of assistance to the person's mental health. Thus, thinking out loud brings into conscious organization what may have been previously unconscious. Even the muscular activity and other move-

ment involved in expressive activity may constitute a release of importance according to classical theory.

Studies of Screening Techniques. The severely maladjusted child usually identifies himself very vividly in the ordinary behavior of the classroom and in his relationships in the home and in the community. Preventive and research programs usually attempt to identify the child well in advance of crises. The emphasis on mental health for all as contrasted to remedial measures for the acutely disturbed has also led to a search for measurement and screening devices. Screening methods become particularly important when there is projected a wholesale plan for the use of supplementary clinics and skilled services in connection with a school program.

Three general strategies of approach are compared in a study by Ullmann with ninth-grade children as subjects.[10]

The first approach was to use the teacher as the instrument. This was done by securing an estimation of adjustment level for each child and also a rating on a forced-choice device which compelled a decision between desirable alternatives. The second strategy was self-report, in which the student responded to the items of the California Test of Personality. He also filled out the SRA Youth Inventory. The third device was to get the judgments of peers. The sociometric rank converted to a standard score was obtained from classmates. It is interesting and in accord with previous findings that the self-reports by the children show little relationship to the appraisals by the teacher or by their classmates. This finding has been variously interpreted, but it is clear that overt and covert methods do not measure the same dimension of personality or adjustment. Only subsequent validation by other methods could serve as a test as to which approach is better for prediction. Judgments by teachers showed a more substantial relationship to the ranks obtained by sociometry from the children of the classroom. Judgments by associates, whether a child or adult, have more in common than does either with a self-report. The correlation, however, between teacher appraisal and child appraisal is still not sufficiently high to argue that they are precisely the same dimension.

[10] Charles A. Ullmann, *Identification of Maladjusted School Children.* Public Health Monograph No. 7. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952.

Since it cannot be argued that the dimensions are the same, current screening attempts are usually multiple in character. As a general guide, the old dictum "behavior predicts behavior" is still a useful principle.

Identification of disturbed children does not necessarily make any changes. Recent years have been prolific in plans for producing change.

Instructional Materials and Methods for Mental Health

Printed materials, films, and recordings are currently appearing in profusion to serve as instructional materials for improved programs in mental health. Some of the instructional materials are primarily guides to teachers and intended for their consumption in changing attitudes, knowledge, and practice. Other materials are designed for the pupil as a consumer. Still others provide instructional materials for both the teacher and the pupil. Most of the instructional materials are not designed to be self-sufficient. They are thought of as beginning points for further study and discussion.

In a broad sense, all of the curriculum experiences of children are of mental-health significance. At the simplest level, according to classical theory, the exteriorization or externalization of tensions is helpful. In this sense, art production, music, recreation, literature, hobbies, and games have a value for mental health even though there is no conscious use of them either by the adult or by the child himself. Much of the doctrine of permissiveness has in it an assumption that the wisdom of the body will work some of these matters out if only the child is provided with the requisite opportunity. For more than an ephemeral release, however, it is believed that the child must attain some insight into his problems so as to achieve a better control of himself and of his surroundings. This is usually something which requires growth and which cannot be forced, so that every worker with children has a problem of some artistic management of experience in relationship to need. At times the requirements may be met by simply insuring that the requisite materials are in the environment so that they may be sought by the child if he recognizes a need. At other times a teacher may develop more actively with the child suggestions and areas of experience that might not otherwise be discovered.

The more deliberate attempts at influencing mental health differ in their emphasis on process and on prepared content. Most plans use a combination of methods. All involve some theory of needs, of causation, and the nature of effective experience.

Needs Theory. How can schools assist in providing for the unmet needs of children? A plan by Raths [11] starts with the postulate that all children have the need for belonging, achievement, economic security, freedom from guilt, love and affection, freedom from fear, self-respect, and guiding purposes. Frustration of emotional needs tends to show itself in aggression, submission, withdrawing, and psychosomatic symptoms. Teachers participating in the program are encouraged to keep daily records on pupils for a period, to analyze situations, and to engage in self-appraisal of the effects of their behavior on the needs of the child. A series of pamphlets is available as assistance to the teacher. Behaviors which are symptomatic of some of the more important unmet needs are described.

Causality and Prevention. Probing and exploratory studies based on the axiom that "behavior is caused" have been undertaken by Ojemann and his associates at the State University of Iowa.[12] These investigators observed that much of the instruction that teachers and pupils receive is at the surface level. Treatment awarded to children may even increase the intensity and frequency of symptoms. The central strategy of the program proposed is to attempt to get below the surface symptoms by stressing causality in the preparation of teachers as a general principle in preventive work in their daily interactions with pupils.

Two types of instructional materials are used to lead the children into the causal approach. These are the descriptive narrative and the short dramatic skit. Each one describes some behavior situation. In the prepared material, someone begins to make a surface approach to it. It is then rethought in terms of a causal approach. Subsequent discussion brings out the differences between the two. The idea can be illustrated by the changes made in a course in community civics at the junior high school level. To

[11] Louis E. Raths, *An Application to Education of the Needs Theory.* Bronxville, New York: Modern Education Service, 1949.

[12] Ralph H. Ojemann, "An Integrated Plan for Education in Human Relations and Mental Health," *National Association of Deans of Women Journal,* XVI (March, 1953), 101-8.

introduce a more causal and dynamic concept, a unit was prepared on "Why People Act as They Do." This may be contrasted with an exclusive emphasis on the organization and functions of government.

Pamphlet Materials. A number of voluntary organizations and some state and federal agencies have prepared pamphlet series for use with children, parents, or teachers.

An extensively used pamphlet is entitled *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom: How Would You Help a Child Like This?* [13] The product represents collaboration between the American Medical Association, the National Education Association, and organizations such as the former National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the American Orthopsychiatric Association. Bits of case histories are presented with alternate ways of handling the situation. The student of the materials has an opportunity to choose a series of responses, some of which are untutored and naïve, and some of which represent the best consensus of professional judgment.

The Science Research Associates [14] have published many pamphlets designed to give direct aid to children or guidance to parents and teachers. The nature of the subjects treated may be judged from a few of the titles such as: *Understanding Yourself, Understanding Sex,* and *Getting Along with Others.*

Films, Radio, and Television. It is impractical to list or summarize here the large number of films of significance for programs of mental hygiene. A suggested procedure is to write to the department of mental health or similar agency in the state in which the interested reader is located. This will frequently produce not only a list of films but also suggestions on their use. Similar services may be obtained from university centers and from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States government. Instructional films for child or teacher consumption are of high-interest value, methods for their most effective use are being worked out, and clear appraisals of their impact still remain on the agenda of the unfinished business of science. Radio and television carry an increasing amount of program content on mental health. The ma-

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[13] American Medical Association, *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom.* Chicago: American Medical Association, 1951.

[14] Science Research Associates, Inc., 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

terials are usually directed at a parent audience. Centers now established or being established for the distribution of tape and kinetoscope recordings will make such content increasingly available to larger numbers.

Human Relations and Human Values. One approach to mental health focuses its emphasis on the relationship of group to group and of the individual to the group. The major task is to educate children toward better living in the presence of variations and differences, which at times may tend to divide. Special attention is given to race, creed, language, and social class. The general goal of many projects is to develop new materials, new approaches, techniques, and ways of mobilizing skill and community resources for intergroup understanding and the improvement of human relations. Human rights as well as human needs may be emphasized. Techniques described elsewhere in this chapter and yearbook are utilized in the intergroup approach.[15]

As one approaches curriculum experiences with human-relations needs in mind, the focus may be on family relationships, peer relationships, development of social skills, and the development of "we" feeling.

Combined methods have been used by Bullis and others in classes for children.[16] Anecdotal, literary, sociometric, and interview materials may serve as discussion "starters." The discussion process emphasizes three phases: recognition of the problem, data and ideas for a solution, and choice of the best solution.

Human values are pervasive in all programs concerned with people and particularly so when anyone assumes, as frequently happens in mental-health programs, that change should occur in particular directions. The emphasis on values and valuing is central in one look at the problems of education.[17]

Children's Literature. The writers of stories for children com-

[15] For a comprehensive exposition see: Lloyd and Elaine Cook, *Intergroup Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954.

[16] Harold E. Bullis, Emily E. O'Malley, and Joseph Jastak, *Human Relations in the Classroom: Kindergarten-Twelfth Grade.* Wilmington, Delaware: Delaware State Society for Mental Hygiene, 1944.

[17] *Human Values in the Elementary School.* Prepared by William Clark Trow and Others for the Department of Elementary-School Principals of the National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association, 1952.

monly deal with persistent life situations even when their goal may have been more to provide enjoyment than to instruct. Some of the earliest readers for children made a deliberate attempt to point a moral for each story. An enjoyable story frequently has an affective or emotional impact denied to purely factual instructional materials. Identification of the reader with the characters and situations in a story is an ever-present possibility.

Kircher and Moore made use of the potential therapeutic values in books for children in the Child Center of the Catholic University of America.[18] A feature of a publication describing the work is a character index which enables the user to find quickly a reference and synopsis of possible application to a particular case. The term "bibliotherapy" was applied to such use. Many national, state, and local library and curriculum groups have published arrangements of titles for special purposes in recent years. Examples of categories employed are: self-understanding, family living, school adjustments, peer-relationships, community contrasts, economic differences, acceptance and rejection, and growing up. The most comprehensive publication with a focus on human relations has come from the project on Intergroup Education in Co-operating Schools.[19]

Self-selection of materials according to need has a profound theoretical background but has had no adequate study in the area of mental health.

Comic Books. Much has been written on the effects of the usual comic books on the attitudes and behavior of children. No general decision has been reached although individual reactions are numerous. A number of attempts have been made to capitalize on the popularity and appeal of the comics and to turn them in more constructive directions as judged by manifest content. As a further step in the same direction, the materials have, at times, been planned to teach a lesson in the psychology of feeling and relationships.

The *Blondie* comic book is a notable example and some research has been done on its effectiveness.[20] The book consists of four

[18] Clara J. Kircher, *Character Formation through Books: A Bibliography.* Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945 (second edition).

[19] Hilda Taba and Others, *Reading Ladders for Human Relations.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1949.

[20] Chic Young, *Blondie.* New York: National Association for Mental Health, 1950.

separate cartoon stories dealing with mental-health principles. The titles of the four stories are: "Scapegoat," "Love Conquers All," "Let's Face It," and "On Your Own." A pilot study of the material has been made in Ohio.[21] A teaching guide for the use of the material suggests activities, supplementary materials, and problems for class discussion. The problems introduce fundamental psychological content in the language of the man in the street rather than in a technical manner. Beneath the surface of "Scapegoat," however, are such concepts as frustration, aggression, displacement, etc. The materials seemed most suitable for Grades VI to IX. The nature of the use of the material varies somewhat with the grade level. The device was judged by principals and teachers to have natural appeal and to be effective by subjective criteria. The discussion phase permitted children to verbalize, exteriorize, and deal with their own problems.

Group Dynamics. The group has long been recognized as an important determiner of individual mental health. Sociometric techniques are one means for a formal approach to understanding the interrelationships among members of a group.

When one wishes to use the potentiality of the group consciously as a means for change, it becomes important to examine not only the structure and the role of group action but also the process of change itself. It becomes possible to think of groups as possessing mental health and ill health, depending on the group goals, activities, standards, cohesiveness, communication between members, and the functional role of the individual in the group. Symptoms of health, such as satisfaction and productivity, and of ill-health, such as scapegoating and lack of spontaneity, may be noted. For the teacher in school, the rapidly burgeoning field of group dynamics offers promise of new approaches to the age-old problems of discipline and management. Group decisions and individual participation offer new guides to recurring problems.[22]

Role Playing. Mental health is concerned with the relationships

[21] State Planning Committee for School and Community. Health Education. *The Blondie Comic Book: A Teaching Aid in Mental Health.* Columbus, Ohio: Division of Mental Hygiene, 1953.

[22] For a comprehensive view see *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory.* Edited by Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander. Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1953.

between thought, feeling, and action. In achieving a complete understanding of a problem, theory indicates that intellectual knowledge is insufficient. It requires different kinds of experiences in order to insure understanding, on the feeling side, and to have an integration of attitude and knowledge which results in action. The very natural way of learning for a child is to act out, to pretend, and to build. In dramatic play of every sort the child is learning by *being* as well as learning by *doing*. Sociodrama, or role playing, is an interesting device for providing the broader range of experience.

A pamphlet by the Shaftels will suffice as an illustration and as a beginning.[23] In the plan they describe, the teacher reads aloud to her pupils a typical life situation of childhood. The story is cut short at a dilemma and the children are then encouraged to finish the story in spontaneous role-playing sessions as they think it would actually end. The hope and expectation is that such exploration of their feelings about recurring life situations will be valuable. Role-playing situations provide many opportunities for using and developing insight into problems. These include the casting of the roles, the involvement of the audience, and the use of permissiveness and limits.

While role-playing may be thought of as an activity for the children in which the teachers participate, it is also extensively used with teachers to re-enact not only their own problems but those of the children with whom they deal. Thus, the theoretical requirements of a more adequate learning experience are fulfilled.

The Expressive Therapies. One may, in a planned and deliberate way, make use of what may happen incidentally in such areas as music, play, literature, and the arts of the body. Some of such planned use is at a level which demands intensive training. But there is a graded series of uses between the greatest sophistication and that which occurs in a spontaneous, unplanned way. It will be sufficient to note here some sources of assistance for such planned use.[24] Play, art, and music have received the most attention from the

[23] George and Fannie R. Shaftel, *Role Playing the Problem Story*. New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

[24] Clark E. Moustakas, *Children in Play Therapy*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953.

point of view of emotional significance, expression, and release.[25, 26]

Corporal Punishment. Among the most "surface" of approaches to treatment would be included spanking and other physical punishment. These practices have been disappearing rapidly from American schools but have been somewhat more persistent in European schools, although subject to the same general trends. The only reason for including punishment in a discussion of mental-health practices is that punishment has internal effects on motivation, and a few advocates of reform see it as a remedy for social ills such as delinquency. Such advocates speak more from their own emotions than from the evidence. Delinquents may experience greater laxity and inconsistency in parental controls, but they also encounter overstrictness and more punishment and brutality than the same age groups under school control. A clear picture is obscured statistically by the fact that the evidence suggests that punishment and its effects can only be appraised in the total context of the child's life and taking into account the constructive things done regularly for him.

The most comprehensive recent survey of the problem was precipitated by a member of the House of Commons in England who called for the abolition of corporal punishment in schools. The National Foundation for Educational Research then undertook to study the problem in its broader setting.[27] Their methods were necessarily operational rather than experimental in character.

Persons seeking simple panacea such as physical punishment should read the report in detail. The survey revealed that many teachers in England were opposed to such a radical proposal as complete prohibition of all forms of physical punishment, that many schools had voluntarily and successfully abandoned it, and that progress would lie in a greater understanding of childhood, social relationships, and factors in behavior and personality development. The report gives some insight into the reasons why

[25] Rose H. Alschuler and L. W. Hattwick, *Painting and Personality: A Study of Young Children* (2 vols.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.

[26] Edward Podolsky, *A Handbook of Music Therapy*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953.

[27] M. E. Highfield and A. Pincent, *A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools*. London: Newnes Educational Publishing Co., Ltd., 1952.

beginning teachers in this country regard "discipline" as one of their most persistent and difficult problems and why preparation for teaching in modern schools places so much stress on understanding the child, on techniques for the management of interpersonal relationships, and on positive and constructive incentives for achievement and behavior.

In-service Study. The most characteristic way of planning for the improvement of educational programs in the interest of mental health has been some type of in-service study. These vary all the way from formal courses of the lecture-recitation-demonstration type to courses which expect a large degree of involvement of the learner in the application of the knowledge secured.

Thus, a co-operative program has operated in the Flint Public Schools for seven years in which teachers enrol in a course in "Child Growth and Development" in which the instruction is interdisciplinary, in which the community resources are related to the work of the students in the course, and in which each student makes some progress in the techniques and applications of case study methods. The course runs throughout the year and uses some of the techniques of socialization so frequently employed in workshops. The case studies are selected so as to include one problem child and one child who seems to be very well adjusted. The theoretical work of the course is then related to the study of the case. The co-ordinator of the course, who represents interdisciplinary training in psychiatric social work, psychology, and education, is continually available to the teachers for conferences and for guidance in the more effective use of community resources. Two doctoral dissertations have given some insight into the effectiveness of the program. A popular synopsis has been prepared by Holmlund.[28]

A comprehensive course in mental health has been offered in the Detroit Public Schools for about five years with the co-operation of the school system and institutions and universities in the Detroit area. Almost three thousand teachers have now become involved in this course. Comprehensive inventories secure testimony to the

[28] Walter S. Holmlund, "In-service Training Courses Do Help Teacher and Child," *Nation's Schools,* L (September, 1953), 50-52.

fact that the persons enrolled believe that effective changes have occurred in their own attitudes and behavior.[29]

The largest-scale venture (geographically and numerically) is that of Prescott and his associates growing out of activities of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. The first comprehensive report describes the general plan for teacher participation in a program of self and child study leading into more technical approaches with the growth of insight and skill.[30] A report on later developments is in progress.

The trend toward a wider community co-operation in programs designed to improve the mental health of children is developed more fully in the following chapter of the yearbook. Joint school and community programs may be illustrated by a project sponsored by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.[31] The plan is now in its second year. The program involves a screening of children, both for positive qualities and those indicative of poor adjustment, and the training of residents in the community in the use of play therapy for work with children.

Perhaps one of the most extensive of the current school-community projects is the so-called Forest Hills project in Toronto, Canada. The design is noteworthy in that it utilizes programs of adult education of many segments of the community and combines study and action in interesting ways. A preliminary report gives the general philosophy and plan of the project, and further reports are in progress.[32]

Specific Devices versus General Satisfaction

As one achieves a perspective on the role of mental health in schools and of the efficacy of specific programs designed to prevent delinquency or to produce particular types of attitude, one is

[29] Paul T. Rankin and John M. Dorsey, "The Detroit School Mental-Health Project," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXVII (April, 1953), 228-48.

[30] *Helping Teachers Understand Children.* Prepared by the staff of the Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel. Daniel Prescott, Chairman. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945.

[31] *Studying Children and Training Counselors in a Community Program.* Edited by Robert J. Havighurst. Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 78. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

[32] J. D. Griffin and J. R. Seeley, "Education for Mental Health: An Experiment, *Canadian Education*, VII (October, 1952), 1-11.

led inevitably to the conclusion that the pervasive climate, general quality, and holding power of schools is more important than any specific device or procedure. It seems to be unrealistic to expect that one can operate a school with basic frustrations that produce frequent aggressions or that promote school-leaving and then to expect to patch it up by specific plans. Out-of-school youth, for example, provide two or three times their proportionate share of delinquents. Even granted that some of their school-leaving is occasioned by their behavior, an important objective would be adjustment of the programs to their needs.[33]

The focus on the mental-health program in schools, at its best, is positive in character. The goal is only incidentally the prevention of illness. The major objective is improved living for all. Such a goal dictates, in part, the nature of the programs that are planned for children and for teachers. Much of the guidance received by children in school is anticipatory in character, although some may be designed to meet the problems of the moment. The positive approach through permeation of the school community is well illustrated in a recent yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.[34] A similar emphasis on the relationship of mental health to the basic needs of children and the nature of school programs is illustrated by Segal.[35]

The achievement of mental-health objectives in school involves both the strategies of purpose, organization, and method and the tactics appropriate to the nature of curriculum experiences. The student of the educational process in the present state of our knowledge will perceive a need for evaluation and re-evaluation of the extent of success in achieving goals under varying patterns.

[33] *Schools Help Prevent Delinquency*. Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XXXI, pp. 101-31. Washington: Research Division of the National Education Association, 1953.

[34] *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*. 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

[35] David Segal, *Frustration in Adolescent Youth*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951.

The Role of the Community in the Mental-Health Program of the School

RALPH H. OJEMANN

In thinking through the role of the community in the mental-health program of the school, it will help us to review briefly how mental strains arise and how the community experiences of pupils, teachers, and administrators may contribute to the reduction of mental tensions.

The importance of beginning with a consideration of the origin of mental strains may be made clear by an example from physical health. Sometimes we do not realize the importance of giving attention to the purity of the water or food supply until we are aware that impure water and food may be a source of infection for some diseases such as typhoid. Similarly, the significance of destroying the breeding places of mosquitoes is not clear except as we realize that mosquitoes may spread the infection in such diseases as yellow fever. Consideration of causes reveals the relationships of situations and conditions to the event under discussion. Hence, in considering the relations of community experiences to the effectiveness of the mental-health program of the school, it seems helpful to consider what is known about the origins of mental strains.

How Mental Strains Are Produced

Some forms of mental disturbances arise from organic deficiencies. If the oxygen supply to the brain is seriously diminished, for example, the tissues may be damaged and various behavior deviations may result. A serious imbalance in the endocrine system may produce comparable disturbances. Other types of organic difficulties may also give rise to mental and emotional deviations.

Some forms of mental disturbances (and these are appearing in increasing numbers) develop after a person has been under a long and serious strain. It may be that he failed in school or lost his job or business and did not have the mental and emotional resources to meet the problem. It may be that he was discriminated against or thought he was discriminated against in work or play or that there was a disappointment in love or failure in work. The kinds and sources of strain may be of great variety. Moreover, a situation that produces stress for one person may not cause the same results in another.

Sometimes there may be a mixture of an organic disturbance and an emotional strain. The body may be weakened by some organic deficiency, and to this may be added some excessive emotional load.

We can illustrate some of the sources of emotional strains by an example. Suppose we consider a child who wants to be first to such an extent that it interferes with his home and school activities. All of us have seen such a child. He is not happy unless he is in front, and he constantly craves attention and recognition.

Among the common ways of dealing with this behavior are the following: reminding the child that he cannot always be first, making him go to the end of the line, scolding him, or sending him out of the room or out of the family circle. If he doesn't "behave" himself following these steps, stronger measures may be employed.

It is well known, however, that an exaggerated desire to be first is often motivated by a child's feeling of inferiority or inadequacy. Through a series of experiences in his home or school, with his play group or elsewhere, he may develop a feeling that he is of less worth than others, that he does not belong to the group, or that he is being rejected or subjected to discrimination. Wanting to be first may be his way of attempting to solve his problem. There are other causes for this behavior, but let us consider the feeling of inadequacy which, in such cases, occurs frequently. It will illustrate our point.

If the child feels inadequate or believes he is the object of discrimination, he will not be helped by scolding, isolation, or similar treatment. The feeling will remain in spite of such measures. In fact, these procedures may increase his feeling of inadequacy and

thus place him under a heavier strain. The teacher, parent, or group leader who attempts to deal with the child by such methods soon meets failure and consequently may initiate more vigorous measures. These tend to cause the whole round of strains to rise to a new height.

The Search for Preventive Measures

Analysis of such behavior on the part of parent, teacher, group leader, policeman, or other community citizens suggests that if adults could learn to appreciate and search for the factors which cause undesirable behavior and thus change from a surface approach to one that takes account of the dynamics of the child's behavior, the chances for co-operative and mutually satisfying interaction would increase. But child behavior is most complex. Identical forms of overt behavior may have widely different underlying causes. This is true whether we consider different children or the same child at different times. Anyone who works with children runs the risk of blocking motivations and thus increasing mental strains unless he understands the basic feelings that produce the behavior. Studies show that parents, teachers, and others can make gains with relative ease in learning to understand children.

Also, there is evidence [1] which suggests that it is helpful for the child to understand the behavior of those around him as well as of himself. It is for this reason that we are interested in examining community influences and discovering the extent to which they help or hinder the child in learning.

It may be helpful at this point to cite some concrete examples to show how a lack of understanding of child behavior by the community or failure to help the child understand more about the situations he meets may increase mental strain. Consider a child who has been tormented by his playmates and who tries to fight his way out of the situation. Suppose the playground supervisor or a police-

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[1] Mildred I. Morgan and Ralph H. Ojemann, "The Effect of a Learning Program Designed To Assist Youth in an Understanding of Behavior and Its Development," *Child Development*, XIII (1942), 181-94.

F. S. Stiles, "Developing an Understanding of Human Behavior at the Elementary-School Level," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLIII (1950), 516-24.

Sheldon Rosenthal, "A Fifth-Grade Classroom Experiment in Fostering Mental Health," *Journal of Child Psychiatry*, II (1951), 302-29.

man enters the scene at this point. If the adult considers only the fighting and reprimands or punishes the child, he may increase the child's anxiety and lead him to believe that he has not received fair treatment at the hands of the community representative. Furthermore, such an approach will not uncover the causes for the child's acts, and the potential for still more strain will remain. On the other hand, an adult supervisor who employs methods of discipline which seek to analyze causes, to relieve stresses, and to give the child satisfaction for basic needs will be able to lessen existing tensions and help the child avoid such difficult situations.

The agencies in the community which influence the child are legion—for example, the comic magazine. Sometimes they suggest that problems in human behavior are solved by shooting the adversary or annihilating him with a death ray rather than by trying to work out the situation constructively in a mutually satisfying way. Such experiences do not help the child learn to live with others in mutual security and respect. The influences of comics, TV, and radio programs are often subtle and can be dealt with effectively only if one understands a child's total behavior.[2]

How the Community May Help

Thus, in considering the role of the community in the mental-health program, we have to examine the ways in which community influences may help or hinder the child in finding constructive avenues for working out the feelings that motivate him. Do the various persons who touch the child's life, either directly or through institutional channels, try to understand him and work with him in a "causal" way? Working "causally" implies recognizing the many sources of mental strain and helping each child develop patterns of security, self-respect, and personal worth. This approach will make it possible for him to work and play happily with others. Among the persons in the community who interact with the child are the group leader, minister, policeman, social worker, doctor, nurse, juvenile judge, and other citizens. Some of the agencies in the community may have data about the out-of-school experiences of the child that would be very helpful to the school in working

[2] Paul A. Witty and Harry Bricker, *Your Child and Radio, TV, Comics, and Movies.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1952.

"causally" with him. Is there close co-operation between these agencies and the school so that data about the child becomes available to the school?

Do the various out-of-school community media, such as the comic book, motion picture, radio, television, newspaper, and magazine, help the child learn a "causal" approach to his social environment and toward himself?

These questions suggest a variety of interactions which define the role of the community in the mental health of the school children. We shall first list the relationships, then discuss them in detail.

(a) If the school is to work "understandingly" with the child, it must have a variety of background information about him. Some of these data may be supplied by various community agencies.

(b) If teachers and administrators are to appraise the child objectively and guide him according to his needs rather than projecting their desires into his pattern of living, they will need opportunities for satisfying their own feelings of adequacy, personal worth, sex expression, and the like. The attitudes of the community may help or hinder them in this.

(c) In developing its program to meet the demands of the growing personality, the school may, from time to time, make changes in content and method. If these changes are not understood, the community cannot react intelligently toward them.

(d) The out-of-school work required of the child should be within his range of ability. Sometimes, because of the difficulty of school materials, the child must be given patient help by his parents. Conditions in the community may pose unnecessarily complicated problems for the child.

(e) It would help the school's mental-hygiene program if the community exemplified a "causal" approach in its relations with the child. How the child is treated by the police, the leader of the recreational group, the minister, the doctor, or his employer, if he works part time—the kind of relationship they demonstrate—influences his learning and the way he works and plays with others. Similarly, the attitude the community takes toward the delinquent becomes a demonstration from which the child learns about human relations. If the radio and television programs, the comics, and

other media of mass communication deal with the problem of human interrelationship by repeatedly demonstrating arbitrary judgmental approaches rather than constructive understanding, the child is again confused in his efforts to find ways to security and self-respect.

(f) The school is interested in helping each child learn constructive ways of working out his feelings of self-respect, adequacy, and other demands of the growing personality. These ways will vary with the special abilities of each child. If the community through its system of values and rewards and punishments gives approval to narrow and prejudiced attitudes, the work of the school may be largely undone. What the community rewards may seem more real to the child than what the school teaches.

We shall discuss each of these community influences in turn.

HELPING THE SCHOOL OBTAIN BACKGROUND DATA

There are a number of agencies in the community which, in the course of their work, obtain important information about the school children and their families. For example, social welfare agencies work intimately with certain families and have at hand data that may be exceedingly useful to the school. Similarly, leaders of Boy Scout, Girl Scout, Camp Fire, Hi-Y, and other youth groups observe the child's behavior in a setting that is usually quite different from that of the school.[3] The minister of the church often is in a position to help in understanding the child's family situation. Public health and visiting nurses are now receiving more training in the mental health of the child and hence can make some observations in the home that can be of great value in understanding the child's family background. Information concerning the child's home and other out-of-school background gathered by these agencies can be made available to the school.

[3] C. H. Gundry et al., "An In-service Training Project in Mental Hygiene," Mental Hygiene, XXXVII (January, 1953), 47-60.

Stanley P. Davies, "The Family Agency's Contribution to Mental Health," Social Casework, XXXII (February, 1951), 61-66.

George D. Thorman, "Contribution of Social Casework to Parent Education," Marriage and Family Living, XIV (1952), 23-26.

"Highlights of a Survey of Local Relationships of Public Schools and the Boy Scouts of America." New York: National Committee on School Service, Boy Scouts of America, October 29, 1953 (mimeographed, 4 pp.).

The agencies which obtain data about children will vary from one community to another. From the examples already mentioned, it is apparent that there are many that can aid the school in making its file of background data about children more complete.

The relationship between the social agencies and the school need not be one way. The school obtains data about the child through the observations of teachers and administrators and through tests and interviews. Frequently, such information will be helpful to the community agencies and should be made available to them. Thus, the relationship becomes one of mutual advantage and, if professionally used, can be of great value.

There are a number of precautions to be observed in maintaining co-operative relationships between community agencies and the school. Each agency can be assured that data about the child will be kept confidential and used professionally to assist the school in working out a more helpful program for the child. Effective co-operation [4] requires mutual confidence, understanding, and respect.

These qualities are not easy to develop. The work of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is an outstanding example of a community group that has recognized both the importance and the difficulty of developing co-operative relationships.

One of the objectives of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is to develop more effective home and school co-operation. To achieve this goal the National Congress assists the various state congresses to develop "schools of instruction" for local officers of all units. The purpose of this training is to help officers of each local unit become more skilful in developing effective co-operation between home and school. Past experience has indicated that without such training the local unit often finds it difficult to achieve this aim.

The National Congress also assists the state and local units in developing effective programs for helping parents and teachers get acquainted with each other, for helping parents extend their insight and appreciation of child behavior, and for aiding parents in under-

[4] Eva H. Grant, *Parents and Teachers as Partners*. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1952.
Virginia M. Kletzer, "What Parent-Teacher Associations Can Do," *Understanding the Child*, XI (1942), 9-22.

standing the work of the school and the nature of home-school interrelationships. There is a recognition of the principle stated earlier, that effective endeavor requires mutual concern and close co-operation.

THE EFFECT OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCES ON THE TEACHER'S PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

The experiences which the teacher has as a community member may facilitate or prevent the development of satisfying personal relationships. For example, the community may accord the work of the teacher a low status.[5] "Anyone can teach." It may also consider the work of the teacher unimportant in guiding growing personalities.[6]

If the community accords the teacher's work a low status, it may also expect him to accept a low salary. Both the attitude of the community and the low salary will have a very definite effect on the extent to which the teacher can work out his own feelings of personal worth and adequacy. A teacher who is constantly blocked by the community attitude may become so concerned about his own status that he has difficulty in appraising objectively the child's needs and in helping him make a good adjustment.

In addition to the low status and low salary, conditions in a community may force the teacher to live in relatively undesirable quarters or part of a city. Or, the community may expect the teacher to participate in many activities in addition to his regular work, thus overloading his "already full" schedule.

In appraising the work of the teacher, the community may use standards that have little or nothing to do with his effectiveness in guiding children. The parents may judge the work of the teacher by observing how well his pupils behave on parents' night when his room is to give the program. Instead of being concerned with the educative nature of the experiences which the teacher provides for the children, the community may be more concerned with irrelevant factors.

[5] Robert W. Richey *et al.*, "Prestige Ranks of Teaching," *Occupations*, XXX (October, 1951), 33-36.

[6] Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, *Public Schools: A Top Priority*, pp. 3-15. Washington: National Education Association, 1951.

The community may fail to provide or to permit much opportunity for teachers to develop professionally. For example, it may object to teachers' attendance at professional meetings or it may overload the teacher's schedule to such an extent that he finds it practically impossible to spend time on his professional development.

KEEPING THE COMMUNITY INFORMED

As more is learned about the educative process, the school may make changes in curriculum content, method, and general procedures. If the community is to accept these changes, both intellectually and emotionally, it will need help to understand why they are being made. One of the objectives of the national and state parent-teacher associations is to help parents learn more about the work of the school. Units are encouraged to hold meetings with superintendents, principals, and teachers at which the objectives and methods of the school are discussed and ways in which parents can work with the school are given consideration.

A number of school systems are placing more emphasis on conferences of parents with teachers.[7] In many communities in the past, conferences with parents were held usually only when there were some difficult problems to be solved. In such cases the prevalent attitude may be that conferences are held only when there is "something wrong." If the school were to introduce conferences on a wholesale scale without informing the public as to their fundamental purposes, unnecessary misunderstanding and conflict might ensue.

The problem involved here has two aspects. On the one hand, the school can develop a plan for keeping the citizens of the community informed as to the changes it is planning to make and why it is making them. The school can develop a public relations program which will keep school board, parents, and citizens generally

[7] Catherine Starbeck, "Parent-Interview Day in Chicago Public Schools," *Elementary School Journal*, LI (November, 1950), 143-45.

Louis Kaplan, "Tensions in Parent-Teacher Relationships," *Elementary School Journal*, LI (December, 1950), 190-95.

Wilma Hughell and Gerald G. Lance, "Student-Parent-Counselor Conferences," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXI (May, 1953), 509-12.

Ruth Strang, *Reporting to Parents*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

William E. Hall *et al.*, "Multifactor Effect in Change in Human Behavior," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLV (September, 1951), 49-54.

informed as educational thinking develops and as changes in the school program are contemplated.

The community, however, has the responsibility of withholding judgment and criticism, both favorable and unfavorable, until it has had an opportunity to learn more about the factors underlying the changes which the school is proposing. Judgment not founded on knowledge can produce destructive tensions among community members and school personnel, and administrators and teachers may become overly concerned about such attitudes.

In recent years numerous attacks have been made on the schools. These have been concerned with the effectiveness of teaching the basic skill subjects, the inclusion of material on United Nations and UNESCO, the attitude toward communism, and the teachings relative to labor and management. Often these attacks have not been based on a thorough knowledge of the aims and methods of the school. Often they were made after the school had introduced changes without keeping the community informed as to why the changes were being made.

One problem of particular interest to mental health concerns methods of discipline. It is well known that battles have raged between the proponents of the so-called "strict, make-them-toe-the mark" kind of discipline and the so-called "permissive" approach. It is also well known that "permissiveness" has often received the blame for the prevalence of many adolescent behavior problems.

The problem is a complex one; it illustrates the importance of educating the community as well as the school personnel as knowledge of child behavior grows. Teachers and administrators have had the advantage of becoming acquainted with the recent developments in human behavior, whereas the community in general usually has had less opportunity. Also, the problem requires further basic analyses that are only now beginning to appear and which may reveal alternatives usually not included in the "strict" or "sheer permissive" concepts.[8]

In a sense, therefore, the school, by making a special effort in its public relations program to carry the community along with it

[8] Ralph H. Ojemann, "It Takes Time," *NEA Journal*, XL (February, 1951), 100-101.

as fundamental developments in educational thinking appear, is carrying a two-fold burden. It is not only informing the community about the immediate changes contemplated but it is also helping people learn more about how satisfying human relations come about. The fundamental principle involved is that one cannot form a logical judgment unless one has the underlying data. Thus, a good public relations program of the school can assist the development of the community's thinking.[9]

CHILDREN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY

Some children, for one reason or another, may have to assume responsibility for doing part-time work or carrying on other types of out-of-school activities. For example, a boy may have a paper route from which he earns money to pay for part of his clothes, for music lessons, or for other things he desires. The junior high school girl may work as a baby-sitter to help pay her expenses.

The attitude the community takes toward such activities and the extent to which it provides favorable working conditions will have a direct influence upon the child's mental health. If, for example, a boy has difficulty in making collections on his paper route so that he becomes worried, he may have little energy left for work and play. If the child is subjected to unreasonable discrimination or exploitation or worries unnecessarily, these experiences will affect his mental health at home as well as in school. Again, if the work schedule interferes seriously with his sleep or recreation, the effects may be disintegrating.

Furthermore, if the child has to play on the street because there is no playground, his play may be accompanied by continual worry to "look out for the cars." If, on the way to school, a sensitive child has to cross several streets with heavy traffic, this may be a constant worry to him.

Many other conditions in the community may present unfavorable or unnecessarily difficult situations to the child and thus prevent satisfying adjustments. The examples cited are merely illustrative of a wide variety of conditions in the community that may affect the child's out-of-school activities.

[9] William A. Yeager, *School-Community Relations.* New York: Dryden Press, 1951.

COMMUNITY INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE CHILD'S LEARNING OF
THE CAUSAL APPROACH IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The child learns how to work and play with others, in part, through the way in which adults react toward him. If the policeman, the recreational group leader, and the child's employer try to understand him and to work with him "causally," the child will obtain a very real learning experience. This learning experience can reinforce the experiences in the school, or it may run counter to them. Unfortunately, since the policeman, the employer, the doctor, the dentist, and other community citizens often have had no training in human relations, their reaction to the child is likely to be surface in character and thus not fundamentally helpful to him.

Another powerful community influence from which the child learns is that represented by the mass communication media such as the radio, television, motion picture, comic book, and tabloid. It has often been suggested that these media exert a questionable influence, but it has been difficult to specify just what the difficulty is. Some have suggested that there is too much "blood and thunder," too much violence and crime. The defenders of the media have pointed out that "blood and thunder," violence, and crime also characterize the great dramas of all ages. A number of years ago, the Payne Fund stimulated a series of studies of the effects of motion pictures. Recent studies of the radio have indicated that, as in motion pictures, there are wide variations in the effects of specified experiences on children.

Studies of the content of the programs have continued to raise important questions. Recent studies [10] have suggested that but little

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[10] Marvin Spiegelman et al., "A Content Analysis of Sunday Comic Strips: A Study in a Mass Medium of Communication," *American Psychologist*, V (1950), 463.

Edward C. McDonagh et al., "Television and the Family," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXV (November, 1950), 113-22.

Dallas W. Smythe, "An Analysis of Television Programs," *Scientific American*, CLXXXIV (June, 1951), 15-17.

Eleanor E. Maccoby, "Television: Its Impact on School Children," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XV, No. 3 (1951), 421-44.

Paul A. Witty and Harry Bricker, *Your Child and Radio, TV, Comics, and Movies.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1952.

Paul I. Lyness, "Patterns in the Mass Communication Tastes of the Young

of the content could be classified as informational or developmental. Studies of the content of comics have shown that in a high proportion of cases—in one study, over 94 per cent—problems of human interrelationship were solved by such methods as killing the opponent, incapacitating him, or otherwise removing him. In but a small percentage of the cases were human relationships worked out by such methods as talking it over. Since, as we have already pointed out, learning to take an understanding or causal approach is so important in developing satisfactory interrelationships, it would seem that attention may well be given as to how these media can present more opportunities for learning constructive approaches to human relationships.

The attitude of the community as a whole toward the delinquent will also influence the child's learning about human relationships. If the community is more interested in "getting even" or punishing the delinquent than in first trying to understand him, we can hardly expect the discussions in school on causal approaches to seem very real. The wide gulf that exists at present between the approach of the ordinary community and that of the careful student of human behavior is especially apparent in the case of the problem child and the delinquent. Usually, in present-day communities, discussions about the delinquent center in his exploits, details of what he did, and considerations of what should be done to him. The careful student of human behavior, on the other hand, is chiefly concerned with understanding the development of delinquent behavior and then working out a plan of dealing with it.

Similarly, the attitude of the community toward the handicapped or the child of special abilities will influence the child's learning to look for causes of behavior. If the community considers the handicapped as one to be pitied but not understood, or the

Audience," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XLII (December, 1951), 449-67.

May V. Seagoe, "Some Current Research in Television for Children," *California Journal of Educational Research*, III (1952), 151-53.

Marvin Spiegelman et al., "The Content of Comic Strips: A Study of Mass Medium of Communication," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXV (1952), 37-57.

Morton S. Malter, "The Content of Current Comic Magazines," *Elementary School Journal*, LII (May, 1952), 505-10.

Hal Evry, "TV Murder Causes Bad Dreams," *Film World*, VIII (1952), 247.

child of special abilities as "peculiar" since "he is not like the rest of us," the child will not receive much help in understanding individual differences. In this connection, it is interesting to note some changes that have taken place in recent years in popular attitudes toward the handicapped. Prior to World War I and during the 1920's, the attitude toward the handicapped and maimed was largely one of pity and overprotection. The handicapped had to be cared for as he could not do much for himself. Since World War II, considerably more emphasis has been placed on understanding the handicapped, on finding his strengths as well as his weaknesses, and on helping him cultivate his strengths so that he can achieve a measure of security and self-respect through his own accomplishments. Such a change in the community's attitude can have a powerful effect upon the development of the child's reaction toward the handicapped.

A child may have special abilities which the community does not appreciate or actually frowns on. For example, the community may accord a high status to the athlete, but it may give little or no recognition to the boy who is skilled in the graphic arts or the girl who is a budding ceramic engineer. In such a community, a boy who does not have the high degree of motor co-ordination and strength necessary to become an outstanding athlete but who does possess unusual artistic ability will have a more difficult time building a feeling of self-respect and personal worth than his more athletically skilled brother. A community that does not recognize the wide individual differences that exist among children and does not provide for each child opportunities for recognition of achievement in various areas of human endeavor is making it difficult for children to learn how to interpret individual differences and how various mental energies may be used constructively.

In pioneer days when the energies of a community had to be devoted to the problem of sheer survival, the strong emphasis on those activities that contributed directly to the obtaining of food, clothing, and shelter could perhaps be justified. But in modern American communities, any discrimination as to opportunity for cultivating various abilities can hardly be justified. Its effects on the mental health of children with special abilities may be serious.

THE COMMUNITY'S SCALE OF VALUES

Another way in which the community can facilitate or hinder the learning of ways through which the child can achieve self-respect and a sense of personal worth is through the general scale of values which it promotes.[11] In some communities, the principal measure of achievement is the amount of material wealth or appearance of material wealth which an individual evidences. He is included or excluded from the major activities of the community on this basis. In some communities, especially smaller communities, the principal measure of worth may be membership in certain families or groups of families. One is included or excluded from the "worthwhile" activities of the community on this basis. In some communities, the measure of achievement may be the following of tradition or custom. If one does as tradition dictates, if one follows the usual established occupations, if one accepts the community's type of thinking, one has "status." But deviations are disapproved.

Such arbitrary standards of value are not helpful to the child who is learning to recognize a wide range of abilities and interests in himself and others. They do not help the child learn ways of achieving status, self-respect, or personal worth that can endure in the world in which a wide variety of people are brought ever closer together. They do not provide a stimulus to the kind of thinking that is needed if man is to develop satisfying ways of living in which each person has abundant opportunities to build a personality of self-respect and personal worth.

It is at this point that the influence of religion and the church would seem to have a great opportunity. The kind of relationships which the church develops toward its members and the kind of relationships that it demonstrates as it carries out its work can be powerful influences in developing a conception of what the human personality requires for growth to its full stature.

The School Program Influences Popular Attitudes toward the Mentally Ill

One objective of a school mental-health program is the development of an understanding of the nature of mental illness and the

[11] Dorothy Clifton Conrad, "Toward a More Productive Concept of Mental Health," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXVI (July, 1952), 456–73.

building of a constructive attitude toward those who are or have been victims of maladjustments. The attitude of the community will tend to have considerable effect on the extent to which the school realizes its goal. Studies of community attitudes [12] have indicated that popular thinking about mental illness is characterized by many misconceptions concerning its nature and the effect of treatment. If the community assumes that all people who are mentally ill are insane, that insanity is inherited, that those who are afflicted with it are objects of pity but not subjects for treatment, such a community attitude will tend to nullify the effects on the learning of afflicted children of any remedial measures the schools may provide for their benefit.

Often employers may discriminate against those who have been mentally ill even though there has been complete recovery. Apparently this is done on the assumption that mental illness betrays an incurable or dangerous weakness which makes the person undesirable as a worker. At times the community may continue to regard a person who has recovered from a mental illness as one who has a weakness that can never be overcome or as one who is an undesirable risk in other ways.

On the other hand, a community attitude that looks upon the mentally ill person as someone who should be studied, much as one studies a physically ill person to determine what treatment may be effective, can do much to reinforce the work of the school. The activities of the National Association for Mental Health [13] and of various state and local mental-hygiene societies now include efforts for public education on the nature and meaning of mental illness.

[12] Carl A. L. Binger, "Public Education in Psychiatry: Is It Possible? Is It Desirable?" *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, V (1951), 4-15.

E. Jaques, "Miscomprehensions of Parents Concerning Child Health and Behavior," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 202-14.

Eugene E. Levitt, "Superstitions: Twenty-five Years Ago and Today," *American Journal of Psychology*, LXV (July, 1952), 443-49.

Training and Research in State Mental-Health Programs: A Report to the Governor's Conference. Study directed by Richard R. Willey. Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1953.

[13] Katherine Glover, *Mental-Health Publications and Audio-Visual Aids*. New York: National Association for Mental Health, 1953.

William C. Menninger, *There Is Something You Can Do about Mental Health*. New York: National Association for Mental Health, 1949.

Since we live in a culture in which an appreciation of the nature of mental illness is not well developed, it would seem helpful if the school would assist the young to understand how these community attitudes came about. If the student is made aware of the origin and nature of unfavorable community attitudes, he is less likely to accept them. He is more in a position to consider them for what they are, namely, attitudes formed by a generation that did not have opportunities to learn what is known today about mental illness. He can then put the community attitudes in their proper places and not allow them to stand in the way of developing a more constructive approach.[14]

The community can help or hinder the school in its program of aiding children in making satisfying human adjustments. Its attitude toward the significance of the work of the teachers, the opportunities it presents for the teacher to develop satisfying personal adjustments, the extent to which it is willing to share data about children, the extent to which it helps each child order his environment so that the daily out-of-school activities can become constructive experiences for him, the kinds of relationship it demonstrates in its daily reactions toward the child, and the nature of the standard of values it teaches are all important factors in determining the outcomes of the mental-health program of the school.

[14] Ralph H. Ojemann, "An Integrated Plan for Education in Human Relations and Mental Health," *National Association of Deans of Women Journal*, XVI (March, 1953), 101-8.

PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES RELATED TO MENTAL
HEALTH AT DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Mental-Health Practices at the Preschool Level

DOROTHY W. BARUCH

We have come to this day and year with many difficulties besetting our civilization: the threat of war; crime; delinquency; unhappiness running rife in personal living; overcrowded institutions for the insane; services available in psychiatric clinics and private offices lagging under the heavy load of demands, insufficient to attend to the requests or the needs. We have come to this day and year with the knowledge in us that many personal, interpersonal, and social ills both begin and are most preventable in early childhood.

Very few children, however, can have specialized psychiatric or psychological care—even very few of the children who need it badly. Many more children can go to school.

When Our Children Go to School

Although nursery schools and kindergartens are not universally available, still they are more widely available to preschool children than is any other resource in our society. More than twelve million of our five-year-old children were in kindergarten in 1950.[1] Many were also in nursery schools.

Because preschool children are still close to their origins, awareness of and planning for their emotional needs in nursery school and kindergarten could become the greatest available resource in our society for preventing illness, waste, and destruction. It could become the greatest public resource available as an adjunct to the

[1] Technical Committee on Fact Finding, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, *A Graphic Presentation of Social and Economic Facts Important in the Lives of Children and Youth*. Raleigh, North Carolina: Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951.

home in building mental health. But it could only serve such high purpose if preschool teachers would let children come into their schoolrooms bringing all of themselves openly; not shutting many of the most propelling parts of themselves darkly from view.

Parodying an old nursery rhyme we might do well to ask, even though it may sound flippant: What are little children made of? Not of most intriguing sugar and spice, nor of still more intriguing snakes and snails and puppy-dog tails.[2] Children are human beings. Children have human emotions. And human emotions are often rugged, rough, frightening, and cruel. Certainly not forever "nice." And yet, in far too many nursery schools and kindergartens it's as if there were a sign over the door: "Welcome to well-brushed hair, pink cheeks, and sweet smiles. But park at the curb the 'innards' we don't like to see."

Perhaps some may think the yearbook of this learned Society is no place for such intemperate speech nor for flesh-and-blood pictures of children and teachers living together. But I believe it is. For it is up to those who are the fore-thinkers in education, up to the searching ones who read this yearbook, to go back into their own communities, to check with their own ears and eyes, to compare what they have read with what is actually happening and to try to reorient education where it needs reorientation so that the preschool uses to advantage the great opportunity it holds.

It is time that the teachers of little children gather more courage as well as more knowledge into themselves. The world is not pretty, and it looks as if the children whom we teach are well on their way to making it less pretty if they grow up with their emotions forever unheeded and untaught.

In one locale in 1952, 7 per cent of the 420,000 children in the ten-to-seventeen-year-old group were arrested and detained for juvenile delinquency.[3] We know well by now that the roots of such behavior reach back into the emotional conflicts that beset the young child.

[2] This is the version as given in *The Tengren Mother Goose*, p. 94 (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1940), and a very good version it is, according to children's fantasies.

[3] According to an estimate by Ralph Fisher, Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Youth Committee. Cited by Tom Gwynne in the *Los Angeles Daily News*, January 20, 1954.

It is time that we stop patting ourselves on the back unrealistically, cease telling ourselves smugly that we are moving forward fast enough. We are not. We are moving at snail's pace, and the pace is too slow.

In 1940, I wrote an article on observations made in kindergarten.[4] These observations could just as well be dated as of this present year. After two previous yearbooks [5, 6] on fostering mental health in our schools, after what we have learned about human emotions from clinical practice, after all that has come out in the psychiatric and psychological literature, this is a sad commentary. It is wasteful and destructive that in education there should be such a lag.

The matter calls for keener observation of current practices in order to see what we are doing and what we are leaving undone. It calls for re-evaluation in terms of children's emotions. It calls for clearer understanding of what we need to do and for more vigorous steps in revising what we do.

Observing Current Practices and Implicit Problems

MUST ESSENTIAL PARTS OF THE CHILD STILL BE LEFT OUT?

Here is a large, bright kindergarten room in an upper middle-class community to which many young parents have moved in order to obtain the "best in education" for their children. The kindergarten teacher sees that the children hang up their wraps neatly in the cloakroom as they come in. It is obvious that these children know what is expected. Very quietly they go to the shelf under the row of windows, take out puzzles, small blocks, or crayons, and settle down quietly on the rug until all have arrived. Then, the teacher, Mrs. Perry, quietly takes her seat at the end of the room. This is the signal for these well-trained youngsters. Half-done block designs are demolished, half-finished or quickly finished puz-

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[4] "Whither the Kindergarten?" *California Journal of Elementary Education,* IX (November, 1940), 106-13.

[5] *Mental Health in the Classroom.* Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association, 1940.

[6] *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

zles and pictures alike are put away neatly, and the children—twenty of them this morning—gather on the rug at her feet.

"John Abbott," in a quiet voice, so low and well modulated that the least noise or distraction would make it inaudible.

John Abbott's arm comes up. John Abbott's body rises. He stands. "Good morning, Mrs. Perry," sweetly polite.

"Good morning John," checking the rollbook without looking up and without pause, "Susan Ain!"

Arm up. Body up. "Good morning, Mrs. Perry."

"Good morning Susan Roger Armstrong," again without pause or intonation, so that in this roll-calling the children lose even that small sense of identity which their own name rising from the mass of names might bring.

Arm up. Body up. "Good morning, Mrs. Perry."

"Good morning Roger Richard Bancroft."

"Good morning, Mrs. Perry."

"Good morning Richard Mary Black."

Finally, the roll completed, Mrs. Perry rises graciously. The children rise too, and, without being told, form in line.

"Yesterday Sandy was such a good girl that it will be her turn this morning." This statement serves as a signal which Sandy comprehends. For, with her small stomach protruding and her buttocks wriggling in the self-righteousness of her gait, Sandy carries the rollbook to the desk at the other end of the room while the rest of the children watch quietly.

Then comes the salute to the flag, followed by "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" sung in excellent unison. Then the children sit down on the rug and listen to two selections on the phonograph.

"And now comes our 'sharing' period."

A hand goes up.

"Yes, Stanley."

He rises, "I'm going to my father's office this afternoon."

"That's nice. Yes, Ruth."

"My Daddy gets home from San Diego tonight."

"That's nice. Yes, Donald."

"I had a baby sister yesterday."

"That's nice. Yes, Roy."

"My dog chewed up my sweater."

"That's ni . . . . I mean you shouldn't let him. Yes, Mary Jane."

Mary Jane stands. She stumbles over her fast tumbling words, a look of fear in her face, and her little hands tight. "Tonight I have to pack my suitcase to go away for two days."

"That's nice. Yes, Betty. But Betty, we have no more time." And with a sigh and a smile, Mrs. Perry moves to another chair at the other end of the room. "Quietly, children."

They move. They sit. They listen to a story about a sweet little girl who was ever so polite and did only good deeds and was graciously rewarded by her fairy godmother. So entranced is Mrs. Perry by the tale that she does not notice that out of her twenty children, seventeen, by actual count, are sucking fingers, biting nails, picking at cuticle, or picking at noses.

"That's all for today." It is ten-thirty. She rises. They rise. They move "quietly" to the other end of the room. They sit, while Mrs. Perry, her small heels clicking, hands out the milk cartons for midmorning lunch, two at a time.

"No talking, children. Wait quietly 'til everyone's through."

Later Mrs. Perry comments: She has an overexcitable, hypertensive group. She is proud of the fact that she keeps them quiet. Their parents wonder how she does it—they're so wild at home that they have to be punished constantly.

On first glance the scene may have looked peaceful and pretty. But, as it went on, the observer who is sensitive to the emotional concomitants that go with every teacher-child contact has become aware of many things. Among them the following stand out:

There has been a lack of consideration of the child's physical developmental status. He has a need for activity, for energetic play varying with quiet periods but not with quiet periods so prolonged that they tax his neuromuscular organization to the point where the impulse is aroused to discharge tension too violently. For then the child grows afraid of not being able to control himself. This in turn leads either to anxiety and constriction or to actual violent discharge (possibly represented by the wildness at home). The long period of almost complete passivity has failed to take into

account that children at this age are active, "intrusive" [7] creatures, healthy in the urge to initiate and explore.

There has been no cognizance of the fact that the socially important drive toward accomplishment through finishing tasks at the child's own level is forming at this period.[8] Putting materials away abruptly has robbed many of these children of the chance to experience a sense of achievement. It would have been better if the teacher had said, for instance, "In a few minutes you'll have to put things away." Then in anticipation of ending, more of the children could have brought their enterprises to conclusion. It would have been better still if they had entered immediately into a work period affording a wider choice of materials and permitting the pursuit of more vital interests. Nor would it have been necessary to sacrifice a reasonable degree of orderliness, for children of this age are helped by a sense of things well ordered. They can benefit by external, supportive controls brought in through time limitations as well as through social limitations in which a teacher stands kindly firm.

However, emphasis on quiet behavior that disregards a child's need to play out his interests is another matter. It is like saying, "I'm not interested in your interests or in your goals." And this, in turn, is like saying, "I am not really interested in *you* as an individual." In fact, Mrs. Perry failed all through to endow the individual with the thoughtful consideration and dignity every individual deserves if we live by the democratic ideal. Moreover, in her own effort to be dignified and quiet, she gave these children none of the affectionate response that young children need to enhance their sense of belonging and to bring them further confirmation of themselves.

Less obvious, but of first importance, was the complete lack of awareness in this teacher that children deeply need respect and concern for their troubled and troublesome feelings. (More of this later.) By too great and constant emphasis on being pleasant and

[7] This is Erikson's term. See Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950); also, *Children and Youth at the Midcentury* (Washington: Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950).

[8] See, for instance, Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1943.

keeping things "nice," this teacher denied the children their chance of having her help them manage the "not-nice" feelings that are part and parcel of every life.

What about Mary Jane, for instance? She had said she was packing to leave home for two days. But her face and her hands and the tumultuous way of her speech were as much a part of her as her words. Was she perhaps packing to go to the hospital? Or to go on some visit she feared? Whatever it was, it would have been much better shared by opening the door with, "Tell me about it," rather than by closing it with, "That's nice!" Neither release of tension nor needed reassurance could come in answer to fear when even the existence of fear was ignored.

The picture of another teacher, Mrs. Ronald, stands in contrast. She, too, has "sharing time." In her group, too, a child speaks of having had a baby sister.

"Yes, Anne, tell us about it. . . ."

"She's cute," tentatively. . . .

"I know," sympathetically, having caught the hesitance in Anne's voice, "but?"

"Well, she's terribly red."

Mrs. Ronald's head goes back in a hearty laugh. "I felt like laughing," she said later. "Why cover it up? They'd know anyway. Children feel things!" "How many of you have baby brothers or sisters?"

A dozen hands wave.

"And they were red, too, weren't they?"

"Yes," and "Yes," with giggles.

"And cute, but, well . . . sort of nuisances, sometimes?" (Feelings don't have to be all "nice" in Mrs. Ronald's group.) The door is open.

"You should see mine. Everybody pays her too much attention. My grandma and grandpa, too, and my mother and my father. . . ." The words pour out of the shyest little boy, who has scarcely opened his mouth before.

"You just wish you could have more of that attention yourself," in the tone of knowing, herself, what this feels like.

"Uhuh."

"Uhuh."

"I don't like it when they all bunch at my baby brother's bed."

"I'd like to bunch my brother over the head."

"Punch, you mean," from another child.

"Uhuh."

"You can't, of course," from Mrs. Ronald. "You can't but you'd like to."

"So would I." . . . "Me, too."

Not "nice" feelings, but human.

THE "WHOLE" CHILD NEEDS TO BE LET IN

Mrs. Perry's and Mrs. Ronald's practices are based on completely different tenets. Unfortunately, in observing current practices, there is far more approximation of Mrs. Perry's procedures than of Mrs. Ronald's. The stress on "good" behavior, conformity, and the social amenities overrides everything else.

In many nursery schools, in spite of neuromuscular unreadiness, one frequently sees children asked to sit unoccupied for too long stretches with hands folded quietly in their laps until everyone at a table, for instance, has been served.

In both nursery school and kindergarten, one often sees a child isolated for "unsocial" behavior, nursing grievances that will only lead to further unsocial acts.

Over and over again, one sees a child helped to apologize for hurting another. But seldom does one see a child helped to bring out anything about his own hurt feelings: neither about the original hurts that beset him and caused the hurting he did nor about the hurts that he received as a result. It usually goes: "Pick yourself up. That's a brave girl." . . . Even: "Say, 'That's all right,' to Jonathan. He said he was sorry for pushing you over; didn't you hear?"

When difficulties that arise betray the presence of troubled or negative feelings, these are glossed over and submerged under platitudes and words. Here are two girls in a nursery school, for instance, fighting over the paint easel, one of them ferocious, the other near tears. "Come, dears," says the teacher, "Come with me and be fine little helpers. We'll go set the tables inside."

Even in supposedly free and creative activities, as in painting, one sees conformity urged. A four-year-old paints in many colors.

Circles, dots, and star-shapes scattered over the upper part of the page in a burst of brilliance. "It's a Christmas tree," face radiant. "But, Diana dear, the tree should grow from the ground, dear, or rise from the floor. Better start over. A tree is not all in the air."

It has been said that "an understanding teacher accepts without criticism and with considerable sympathy and interest whatever a child wishes to produce. The teacher's personal taste should not intrude into his response to children's attempts at self-expression. A single, genuine, but crude design by a child is worth more to his inner development than any number of prettified pictures that are produced with the help of a teacher." [9] And yet, over and over: "I like blue skies better," or "Chimney's aren't purple, dear!" or "Leaves aren't black." (Not only children but houses, sky, and trees must conform.)

Quite in line with this principle stands the prevalent lip-service given to "control." Since it is simpler by far to control *one* class than to help ten, twenty, thirty, or even forty individuals learn to control themselves, regimentation often results.

"Didn't you once write a book on discipline?" the director of a nursery school asked me. I nodded. "Good," she nodded back. "I believe in discipline 100 per cent. There's one basic rule. Keep them busy; then they have no time to misbehave." And this, her teachers most certainly did. In five rooms at five long tables— all pasting Easter cards; and, in music time, everyone being urged to skip together, including those three-year-olds who are pathetically awkward in their heavy struggle to do something that normally, still a year later, is only possible in a "lame-duck manner." [10]

Even a rich variety of activities too frequently seems to be set up mainly to keep children occupied and "out of mischief." Some teachers achieve such an end very directly by almost exclusive focus on maintaining order as they move about. In one kindergarten, as example, a group of children are building with blocks; some are at paint easels; some in the doll corner; some at a clay table; some at another table with crayons. A verbatim record of

[9] Margaret Naumburg, *Arts in Childhood*, pp. 3-6. Association for Arts in Childhood (New York), Bulletin 3, Series 2.

[10] Arnold Gesell *et al.*, *The First Five Years of Life*, p. 52. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940.

what the teacher says reads: "Be a good little mother, Jane, and talk softly to your children. Here, boys, take it easy or the blocks will tumble. You'll have to wait for an easel, Ruth. Move your clay, Claire, you're too close to Jack. Here, girls, don't get the crayons from the different boxes mixed, I just sorted them yesterday. . . ." "But," from one of the girls, "her green's different from mine, and I'm using them both to get a sunshine look in my forest. . . ." However, the teacher is already out of earshot. "Be careful, Liz, the way you carry those paints."

It's not what she has said that robs the situation of its possibilities; it's the fact that she has time to say little else and, even more serious, that she has no time to listen.

Again and again one asks: Why must teachers talk so much that they have no time to listen? Is it perhaps a protection against what they fear to attend to or hear?

Some teachers, less obviously and perhaps all unwittingly, keep conformity through more subtle emphasis on betterment—through bettering the child's product, for instance; through bettering the child's techniques; or, as has been said, through focusing on having the children develop "their ability, not themselves." [11]

In short, as one observes in various preschool situations, the positive and constructive focus is kept so much to the fore that it acts as a fence to keep out a great part of each child.

Even the casual, brief, teacher-child contacts work toward this end. For example, a child on his tricycle rides up to his teacher in a nursery schoolyard and stops. Plaintively he says, "My mother and my daddy went to Palm Springs." . . . "How nice, Robbie," says the teacher. "They're having a good vacation." . . . At which Robbie sniffles, peddles off, and goes slam-bang into a little girl pulling a red cart.

What could be clearer than that, to Robbie, his parents' going to Palm Springs was not nice? What could be plainer than that he needed a teacher who would perhaps take him on her lap even for just a few minutes or who would at least put a warm arm about him in order to give him some of the mothering he was obviously seeking in his mother's absence? What could have been more evi-

[11] Daniel M. Mendelowitz, *Children Are Artists*, p. 4. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1953.

dent than that the needs of his developing personality would have been served far better had his teacher helped him express his feelings of complaint less hurtfully than in the "accidental," angry assault on the small girl?

We have long adhered to the concept of educating the whole child. Yet, we fail to do this if we leave out of educational practices consideration of the troubled and negative feelings that stem both from present-day conflicts and from the past.

Feelings That Call for Particular Attention at the Preschool Period

Little children should have teachers who recognize and understand their emotional needs and problems not only in terms of present-life stresses but in terms of unfinished strivings and unsatisfied wants originating in the past. *It is not only what happened this morning or yesterday evening that makes a child as he is today.*

Although the busy teacher can rarely know every child's history [12] nor delve into the intricacies of his individual emotional backgrounds, she can take for granted that the children in her group have had certain emotional experiences which are well nigh universal in our culture. These have engendered feelings that are part and parcel of what every child brings with him to school.

In the beginning of life, as far as the infant is concerned, everything has to do with his body. After the separation from his mother which we call birth, he still needs a great deal of physical contact and closeness.[13] In primitive body communications which he receives through eating, through sucking, through tactile sensations and sensations of physical support connected in large part with mouth-satisfactions during feeding, he gains the most essential of all emotional foodstuffs—namely, love.

Feeding by rote or prescription, as is usual, does not, however, assure satisfaction. Different infants have different hunger cycles,

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[12] This does not mean that knowing the child's background is not desirable. Whenever possible, it is most advantageous. I am saying here, however, that even when the individual history is not known, we know enough about child development today to realize that certain feelings will ordinarily be present.

[13] See, for instance, Theresa Benedek, "Psychosomatic Implications of the Primary Unit: Mother-Child," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIX (October, 1949), 643-54; and James Clark Maloney, "The Primary Unit," *Journal of Pastoral Care*, IV, 1950, pp. 3-10.

and they have only one way of communicating their hunger—namely, by crying. But many parents have the mistaken idea that it "spoils" the baby to answer his cry.[14] And so they fail to heed and feed him, or they do it with inner conflict and hesitance. The tension is felt by the baby in such a way as to leave him with his feeding wants, both physically and emotionally, unsatisfied.[15]

Since any bodily dissatisfaction, discomfort, or pain normally calls forth anger in the infant, his natural reaction to the distresses of hunger is anger. This ordinarily begets him further refusal. Then, greedy with unfilled hunger and angry with ineffectual rage, he acts as if he wants, in primitive fashion, to devour the hand, or the breast, or even the person who feeds him. Perhaps he does bite. Certainly, he yells. But for this he is scolded more severely or ignored more persistently—both of which bring him hurt as well as an early impression that, with his wants and his anger, he is "bad." Moreover, he feels that his mother has failed him. No one whom he could trust has stood by to rescue him from discomfort and to understand his needs.

On top of this, other impulses connected with feeding have also been curtailed. Often the child is weaned too early or transferred from bottle to cup without considering his own readiness to give up the sucking activity which, we have learned, infants must have. When he put objects to his lips or sucked his thumb, the measures taken were frequently harsh or painful. They may well have stopped the sucking without satisfying the impulses associated with sucking, and the denial made anger accrue. Possibly the child turned nail-biter, later to become the man or woman who is always under compulsion to spoil his close relationships with biting remarks.

Possibly he became so afraid of his greedy wishes that he had to make himself hold back defensively on his appetite and on his wish to take in. As one result, he arrives at school unable to take

[14] Ann Stewart, "Excessive Crying in Infants—A Family Disease," in *Emotional Development in the First Year of Life*, pp. 138-69. Edited by Milton J. E. Senn. Transactions of the Sixth Conference on Problems of Infancy and Childhood, March 17-18, 1952. New York: Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation, 1953.

[15] See, for instance, Sibylle Escalona, "Emotional Development in the First Year of Life," in *Emotional Development in the First Year of Life, op. cit.*, pp. 11-91; and Edith B. Jackson *et al.*, "Early Child Development in Relation to Degree of Flexibility of Maternal Attitude," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, VII (1952), 393-429 (New York: International Universities Press).

in what the school has to offer and so, even with high intellectual equipment, he joins the laggards or those who fail.

In any event, before he enters preschool, the child in our culture has generally gained a primitive impression of self: I am "bad" because I am hungry for more love and cuddling and for solace when I am uncomfortable and unhappy. I am "bad" because of the anger in me. I am "bad" because of what I want to do with my mouth.

Then, when he is told constantly in school to "keep quiet" or to say only "nice" things, it harks back and strengthens the old impression. Being "bad," he can hardly feel himself worth while and self-confident enough to explore, experience, learn, and live fully, nor can he develop to their fullest the positive potentials he has within.

But he still wants desperately to gain the love that he needs when he is in discomfort. He wants this love to make up belatedly for not having had heeded earlier his cry to be fed and held. He wants desperately, too, the love that accepts his anger as a natural and normal part of him, and yet a love that is also strong enough to protect him from the hurt or the harm that he fears his anger may perpetrate.

Meanwhile, as he grows, other parts of his body and other body functions have become important. For a long stretch, or so it seemed to him, there was enormous focus on elimination. His chief accomplishment was tied up with this. That which his mother regarded as his greatest achievement had to do with it. He was called on to exert complex neuromuscular patterns in executing what was demanded.[16] Most frequently he was asked to accomplish too much too soon, for the sphincters that control defecation are not mature enough even to begin control before ten to twelve months, and those controlling urination not until from eighteen to twenty months, with complete urinary control not usually feasible until around four years. Most frequently, however, his mother did not wait but pressed early training, unaware of the strain involved.

Without knowing it, she also disregarded the fact that the child in his own way found pleasure in eliminating according to the dictates of his own internal urges. Consequently, too early training

[16] Gesell et al., ibid.

took away this primitive pleasure before he was ready to give it up.

So here again, as with the earlier mouth-satisfactions, he was cut short. He did not have the chance to live out his primitive impulses. When this happens, maturation is interfered with, and an impulse, instead of falling into its proper place, continues to press. *The new stages of development which confront the individual are infiltrated with infantile impulses that have not been satisfied fully enough to be left behind.*

To complicate this, there has been another aspect in the curtailment of impulses at this stage. Every normal child takes an interest in what comes from his body. In unfettered fashion he wants to explore and touch and must gradually learn not to. But since this is so often considered repulsive, many a child has been stopped abruptly with heavy-handed condemnation. Furthermore, "be clean" has been so much the watchword that his sensory enjoyment could not carry over and find sublimated satisfactions with other substances having a similar "feel." His mother's disgust became evident with any "messing" or "wetting" he wanted to do. And so she seemed his enemy instead of his ally in his gaining control of these primitive wants.

If she became too insistent on control before readiness was established, or if she became his enemy by giving him enemas, she forced him to give up the autonomy so important at this period to prevent the setting in of undue shame and doubt of self.[17] He suffered not only the fear of not being able to accomplish what was wanted of him but also the fear of being punished or disapproved of and hurt.

In short, in this period of focus on elimination, as in the earlier period of mouth-focus, anger was engendered on many counts. Possibly he tried to get even by refusing his co-operation. Or he fantasied using what his body produced as weapons with which to attack. Perhaps he became like the two-year old who smears his bed, like the three-year old who hurls out "you old doodoo!" at the slightest provocation, and like the adult who still spends his life instigating smear campaigns. Or, perhaps in his anger he held back with his giving to remain constipated or stingy, "tight" and selfish all the rest of his days. Or he became so afraid of his messing impulses that he shut himself in and turned shy and timid, in some

[17] Erikson, *op. cit.*

manner, afraid to let go. One child of eight, looking back, said, "I never could do my 'big job' to suit mother. When I went to school I felt I couldn't do any job well." When a child is trained too severely, he may well remain too afraid to try.

To increase the chances of such eventualities, many a child's most positive efforts were nullified because of his mother's own culturally induced aversions. Even when he co-operatively gave the products of his body in answer to her requests, she often treated what he gave with disgust. To him this said: Even when you give your best, it is not "nice."

So he comes to school and is told, "Be nice, now." And again this harks back. It tells him he must not follow whatever healthy drive there may be in him to work out, before it is too late, the unfinished phase of his development that has to do with baby-messing and wetting impulses. It ignores also his deep-seated want to have accepted not only that part of himself which is pretty and clean but also that which has been called "dirty" and "bad." And not least, it denies his desperate need to have the anger that has piled up in this phase of his existence accepted also; to have the things he has fantasied wanting to do with his anger understood and accepted, again with a love that is sturdy enough to provide firm restrictions so that he cannot act out his feelings in ways that bring actual hurt.

This last has become especially important as he has reached the explorative, into-everything, toddler stage. A need that was pervasive in this stage is still strong when he comes into preschool, namely, the need to be active, to initiate, to explore. Where conformity has been waived sufficiently so that he has been able to do this with self-confidence, then progression to social endeavors follows. When he has insufficient chances to try himself out, he feels unsure and must either retreat or overbearingly seek an assurance he never can quite achieve.

Ordinarily, in the toddler stage, one of two things has happened. Either discipline and restrictions have been too curtailing—even punitive—or parents, in their own insecurities have bent over backward not to restrict. The first leaves the child afraid of his parents; the second, afraid of himself; in either case, afraid of possible hurt or pain.

Concurrently, to further increase emotional troubles during the short years of his life, there have been occasions when bodily discomfort has actually turned into bodily hurt or pain. This has happened with colic, perhaps, or with teething, with minor or major illness, or possibly with accidents. And so, by preschool age, the child has developed fear or hurt to his body from such first-hand experiences. In addition to this, he has heard about accidents, about war casualties, about adult illness, possibly death. Perhaps, too, he has heard actual threats: You'll get sick if you go out without your rubbers!" "You'll get sore if you touch yourself there," or worse. Perhaps his punishments have actually hurt him or he has imagined that these so-much-bigger people might hurt him in their wrath by duplicating his own angry designs to bite and tear or to hurl weapons or what not. Perhaps he imagines that he has or will hurt himself if he goes on doing what is "bad."

In any case, the vivid imagining he does at this period takes over. It puts one thing and another together and adds what he fantasies to what he observes. For instance, he notices the anatomical differences between male and female bodies. In primitive fashion, child after child, despite scientific explanations, emotionally takes the girl's appearance as evidence that an injury has been done to her. The boy then frequently imagines that the same thing can happen to him if he is "bad." The girl then fears that, although this hurt has already happened to her, if she continues in her "badness" even more hurt may be done. If only she were a boy, she feels, she would have fared better. Then in both sexes the fear of hurt can mount into panic, come operations or more serious injuries or accidents. Even immunizations often bring grave anxiety.

During the preschool period, the fear of hurt is especially hard to endure. The child is big enough now to realize his physical defenselessness but not big enough to do anything about it. He is big enough now to want to be bigger and is feeling jealousy and rivalry with bigger as well as with smaller people. As one little boy put it, he wants at times to be the "onliest" with his mother. At times, if a boy, he wants to be rival to his father; and, if a girl, rival to her mother to be first with her father. When the child meets frustrations to such dreams and wishes, as he universally must, then very naturally he feels angry. And almost universally, in his

imagination, he ties anger and punishment and hurt together. If he shows his anger, he fears he will be punished and possibly suffer permanent hurt, not only the hurt of being unwanted but hurt to his body as well.[18]

Such fear of hurt is unendurable. For he still gets the sense of *what he himself is* through *what his body is. Only as he can feel his body able to reconstruct itself after the inevitable minor injuries that come to it, only as he feels that it can again be whole and sound, can he feel himself whole and sound.* In short, his feelings about his body give him the basic image of self that he lives by.

He comes to school, fearing hurt. He comes with a tremendously strong need in him to prove that the "Self" of the body can live through hurts, be reconstructed, as it were, and come out whole. By devious means he may try to cover these feelings, as by acting just the opposite. Nonetheless, they are there.

This, then, is the way the preschool child commonly comes to school:

With unfulfilled wishes:

With mouth-wishes unfinished and pressing; with the wish to be fed, to take in, and to still be a baby at times; with the need at times to be cuddled; and with the deep yearning for the kind of love that perceives and heeds when discomfort and fear and unhappiness are in him.

With messing and wetting impulses pushing yet to gain maturing. With feelings of rivalry and of wanting to come first.

With the need to get into things, to do things in his own way, on his own initiative, to exert his own autonomy, to be active, to experiment, and to explore.

With pent-up hostility:

With a great load of anger and hostility piled high from innumerable past and present-day happenings and with primitive and often violent (and terrifying) fantasies of what in his anger he would like to do.

With unvoiced fears:

With the fear of "not being nice" often amplified in his mind into "be nice or you will be deserted or hurt."

And with the fear of hurt often overwhelming because of in-

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[18] For a simple and clear exposition of these psychodynamics, see Anna Freud, *Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents.* Translated by Barbara Low. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1947.

sufficient reinforcement of his need to see that his body is repairable and can be a whole and sound image of self.

He comes to school needing mightily to gain a feeling that, in spite of all this, he is still worthy and worth while, "good," not "bad;" and to know that someone will accept him as he is and, at the same time, will protect him and help him keep safe.

He comes to school, also, with day-by-day irritations besetting him; with the day-by-day conflicts that occur in the best of families; and often with more intolerable problems in families where more intense difficulties exist. No child comes to school without having suffered some disappointments and hurts. *No child is without anger in him.* If he were, he would be grossly abnormal.

Do what we may, we cannot eliminate problems for him. Of necessity he brings with him fears and anger and unsolved wishes. *Our problem is to help him learn how to handle the feelings that exist* so that they do not get in the way of his further development. *If we wait for them to be over with, they often go under instead.*

They interfere with his healthy drive for achievement, for social expansion of his needs to belong; they then stand in the way of his finding in life the fulfilment he might have found. They keep him from being the kind of person who is richly able to contribute to others from within a self that feels courageous, worth while, and secure.

And so we ask, in what directions can the teacher move to help the child gain what is needed, before more years have passed to obscure the basic, early conflicts that are there?

What Kind of Attention to Children's Feelings Should the Teacher Give?

Here comes the dilemma. Here is where we have been moving in the wrong direction.

Most teachers still hold the impression and work sincerely on the basis of a faulty impression that, to help a child grow into a healthy, kindly, wholesome, well-wishing, and socially minded human being, the essential step is to keep him acting exclusively along positive lines. With enough practice or repetition (in good Thorndike fashion), learning will take place. Similarily, if "bad" feelings are allowed into the picture, they will be practiced. Then they will become set.

This is untrue. Feelings can become set most deeply when they are *not* openly faced or brought out, when they are shoved into the unconscious, out of sight. As Weiss and English have said about anger, "Latent hostility and repressed aggression are to be found in every neurosis." [19] Such feelings, when blocked so that they are not expressed against an outer target, are often turned inward hurtfully against the self. Among other disturbances, they then produce psychosomatic illnesses. Miller and Baruch, for instance, found actual evidence of this in 92 per cent of the allergic children whom they studied.[20] Long ago, Wickman pointed out that children by withdrawing, by closing inside, and by being too "good" could develop even more serious emotional problems than by being too "bad." [21]

Not that we are advocating being too "bad." This does no good either. Acting out feelings that are terrifying or troublemaking can make these feelings become even more terrifying or troubling so that they remain quite unresolved. This occurs especially if the acting out is such that it gets the person into real difficulty or produces too grave a load of anxiety, guilt, or fear. On the other hand, bringing troubled feelings to light and practicing or using them, as it were—*steering them out through safe action-pathways*—this is another matter. It is the soundest means of prevention and of assuring emotional health.

Take a child, for example, who has gone through a tonsilectomy. Such an experience is a threat to his body and to his total feeling of wholeness. He regains his needed sense of wholeness best if he can live through the experience again and again in his play.[22] If he can safely play out both the feared mutilation and the reconstruction of himself in his recovery, then his terror lessens and he

[19] Edward Weiss and O. Spurgeon English, *Psychosomatic Medicine*, p. 124. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1943.

[20] Hyman Miller and Dorothy W. Baruch, "A Study of Hostility in Allergic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XX (July, 1950), 506-19.

[21] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928.

[22] Margaret Fries, "The Child's Ego Development and the Training of Adults in His Environment" in the *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, II (1946), 85-119. (New York: International Universities Press.) See especially, p. 106.

can see that his body and his ego are both whole. He can then accept and use reassurance that he is neither injured nor in danger, whereas otherwise reassurance is apt to pass off as though unheard.

If he is left alone and happens on acts that bring actual hurt, as he might were he to get hold of a sharp knife in re-enacting the surgery, then his terror and his emotional problems would only increase. Or, take a child who attempts, by himself, to work out his enjoyment of messing. He brings in a bucket of mud and smears it over the living-room carpet. This brings further condemnation onto him which, in its turn, leads further into anxiety and fear. Or, take the child who, untrammeled, lets out hostility. He might do actual hurt that brings on such grave punishment, rejection, and such consequent fear that he never again dares be free.

Left to his own devices, a child often has difficulty in channeling feelings along action-pathways that will build his security and self-confidence. He needs an adult who can accept his *feelings* as they are—ugly, mean, fearful, or frightening—but who will help him *steer his acts*. He needs an adult who sees clearly that *by permissiveness is meant permissiveness of all and any feelings, but not permissiveness of any harmful, destructive, or unsafe acts.*

Kubie has put the problem succinctly in regard to children's hostile feelings. He says that a child should liquidate anger as closely as possible to the time when it arises. That his target should acknowledgedly be the person who has engendered the anger. And that it should be discharged in safe and harmless ways.[23]

But, as we've seen, the child has usually been made afraid of his hostile feelings. As a result, he has a hard time admitting them for what they are. He has a still harder time admitting their object. He is afraid to acknowledge: "I'm mad." And still more afraid to acknowledge: "I'm mad at my parents." In other words, he has difficulties in *affect-identification* (identification of the feeling involved) and *object-identification* (identification of the target at which he actually wants to aim). Therefore, the channeling of the feelings has become harder to control. (For how shall one control or direct what one does not admit having?)

[23] Lawrence S. Kubie, "The Child's Fifth Freedom," *Child Study*, XXV (Summer, 1948), 67-70.

As a result, by the time the child reaches preschool, the anger has ordinarily become diffused. It is free-floating. It displaces itself destructively onto other children or onto materials. It expresses itself indirectly in acts that represent hostility in the child's mind. As Blau has pointed out, he may even use his left hand or begin reading-reversals as symbolic, negative acts that hurt his parents by going counter to their desire for him to conform and progress.[24] Or, as we've seen, he may have blocked his hostility and have turned it against himself.

The teacher now has three major tasks before her:

(a) She needs to help the child with *affect-identification*. (This is anger you are feeling! Or, in child-terms, "You're feeling mean!")

(b) She needs to help the child with *object-identification*. (You are angry at the child who pulled away your toy, at me, at your brother or sister, at your father or mother—many times at the latter. . . . Since it is the parents primarily who have represented the big ogres of denial and demand, the others against whom anger is hurled are apt to be objects of displaced aggression.)

(c) She needs to help the child with *channel-identification*. (Here is a safe action-pathway through which you can let your feelings flow out.)

In terms of logic, the last comes last. In terms of practice, it comes either first or simultaneously with affect-identification. Then object-identification follows more rapidly.

The release of feeling through safe channels can of itself relieve tension. The child has then had the experience of discharging them safely without consequences that make for additional tension. This can, indeed, strengthen his ego.

Affect-identification, however, takes him further. It's as if he were now in a position to say, "I've not only gotten rid of some of the pressure, but I've lived through the danger of letting it be what it is. And this strong adult, whom I look up to as a second mother, has accepted me with these feelings. She has not discarded

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[24] Abram Blau, *The Master Hand*. New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1946.

me nor hurt me nor thought me 'bad.' And so I am stronger to tolerate what is in me and to acknowledge to myself who it is I am angry at on the most important counts, both in my present life and in the past."

Rarely, however, do feelings change immediately. They call, over and over for repeat performances. Then gradually the repetition or practice, shaped in the child's own manner, reduces the force of the feeling. It does not strengthen it. Then fear is not so frightening. Anger is not so pressing. And infantile drives are not so enticing or urgent that they interfere with more mature steps in growth.

As example of what we have been talking about: A child starts to tear a piece of paper, looks guilty. The teacher says, "It's all right to tear that paper." This serves as a channel-identification, to wit, this activity is a channel through which aggressive feelings may safely flow. She then goes a step further into *affect-identification*. "I think you feel real mean today—like tearing things up." Then the child, too, goes a step further. He tears vigorously, then mutters, "I'm mad at poo, old dopey doo," the target vague. So the teacher takes the third step—that of sanctioning *object-identification:* "I think you're sort of mad at someone, perhaps someone here, perhaps someone at home." And the child goes the last step also. He grins appreciatively, draws a crude figure, tears it with, "You big dopey papa, I'm mad at you. I'm tearing your hair out, I'm tearing you up. . . ." The child is now readier to continue more meaningfully the releasing of pressures. He admits the object and sees what it is that he needs to release and to control. This last, the teacher now emphasizes for him, "You can do this to the paper daddy but not to the real one." Even though the child knows this well, her saying it strengthens his sense of power over impulses that have made him afraid.

Through all of this we are not saying that the release which comes with the playing-out of feelings is unimportant. It is, in fact, the *most* important. In connection with the child's hostility, it can, however, be most beneficial when the affect and the objects are also avowed.

In connection with the emotional maturing of the child's body impulses, the essence lies in the play-out of itself, although channel-

identification may be necessary for the child to attempt the playing-out. The teacher, for instance, may need to sanction, "It's all right to bite the rubber animals," or "to suck." "It's all right to play with water" or "to mess with clay." She may need to show a child repeatedly in various ways that it is "all right" to let his feelings out through this or that channel before he will even dare to try.

In connection with the child's fears, including his fear of hurt, the play-out is usually as far as the teacher can help the child go, although some teachers who are clear in regard to their own feelings manage to go further and to bring reassurance to the child in addition. What the individual teacher does depends on her individual feelings. Whatever she does, however, can be done in the more formal as well as in less formal situations. The steps she takes need not spell disorder. Nor need they mean that teachers need to be therapists.

The psychotherapist helps the child who is more seriously disturbed to bring out and resolve feelings that have become unconscious. The teacher deals with conscious feelings that are there, ready to come out if the letting out is sanctioned.

As the teacher is familiar with those emotional problems that create stresses for children by and large in our culture, she can recognize what is there waiting to come out. As she perceives it, she can reflect its presence through what she says. As she develops understanding and receptiveness, her children will sense this. Supported by her acceptance of their feelings and kept safe by her limitations of their actions, they will dare to show themselves as they really are. They will dare to tackle their problems and move on toward maturing with self-confidence renewed and with greater love and regard for others, born out of greater acceptance and regard for self.[25]

Examples of Needed Attitudes, Procedures, and Techniques in Practice

In order to understand more concretely what needs to be put into practice, let us watch one teacher, Mrs. Mathews, in her con-

[25] When teachers do what I have been talking about here, they give a child, in a modified way, what Franz Alexander calls a "corrective emotional experience." See, for example, Franz Alexander and Helen Ross, *Dynamic Psychiatry*, pp. 254-357. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

tacts with a group of children working with clay.[26] She has pushed several tables together to give ample space for free body-motion. The children have gathered, spontaneously choosing this activity. From a large galvanized bucket, each child scoops up his own clay. Some are greedy, with old hungers still pressing. They want more and more.

"You'd like the biggest lot in the world, I know, Bobby," reflecting [27] the hunger. "Got to leave some for the others, though I know how much you'd like to have every single bit for yourself," accepting the feelings while limiting the acts.

Lucy, she notes, is playing out her mouth-interest differently. She is making cookies and is baking them in the stove near by. Any child who approaches, she pushes away. Mrs. Mathews knows that many children in a variety of feeding and eating games symbolically get what they feel they have missed. When they dramatize a mother cooking, for instance, it's as if they were saying, "I feed my child— me—as I wanted my mother to feed me."

Lucy glances up, catches Mrs. Mathews' eye.
"Lots!" says Lucy.
"Lots," repeats Mrs. Mathews.
Lucy goes on rolling, cutting, decorating, baking.
"Lots!"
"Just as many as you'd like to have your mommy give you."
"Uhuh. And candies. . . ."
"And kisses and loving till you'd had more and more!"

Lucy's serious, sad little face lights up, and she nods. Then she turns to one of the children she has shoved off a short while before. "Come on, Connie, here's one for you." (Having had her own greediness accepted as she played it out, she is more willing to share.)

"Look, Mrs. Mathews." . . . "Come here, Mrs. Mathews," two boys jostle and shove each other. She laughs, "Here, here. You

[26] Amy Mathews is the kindergarten teacher in the Gardena Elementary School, Los Angeles City Schools; Mrs. Oda B. Vans is principal. The clay that Mrs. Mathews uses is water-soluble potter's clay which is purchased in twenty-five-pound bricks in cellophane wrapping, which keeps it moist.

[27] This is Carl Rogers' term. See, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942.

each want to be 'onliest' but I can't give proper attention to more than one at a time. And remember, no hitting each other in here. Why don't you make a clay friend or brother or father or mother or whomever you'd like most to hit and shove away?"

In a few minutes both of the children are at it. From Tommy, pounding and cutting and smashing into his clay chunk:

> "Here I go! Here I go!
> Tear him to pieces.
> Cut him up; smash him.
> Cut him; mash him.
> I'll knock you down,
> You bad, bad daddy.
> I love to smash him good."

He glowers at Mrs. Mathews. "I know I can't really. You've told me that before," belligerently.

"That's right, Tommy!"

"O.K., O.K.! Here I go! Tear him to pieces. . . ." And he rips the clay chunk asunder and continues to hack at the parts.

As she has in this instance, Mrs. Mathews consistently helps the children take their hostility back to where they have felt it most—namely, to the big figures of authority in their own intimate world. By focusing on the actual targets against whom it originated, she knows they will be less likely to splash ill feelings out against substitute targets throughout life. She knows, too, that parents will be less unrealistically resented when resentful feelings and fantasies have found safe release.

When she sees another child playing that he is bombing Korea, she says, "And sometimes you'd like to bomb people right here in Los Angeles, like mother, maybe, or father, or somebody else at home."

Since children have, by and large, become so afraid of such feelings, they dare not let them come out unless the door is opened for them. And so, just as she has done here, Mrs. Mathews keeps opening the door. Here is little Sherrill, always contained and silent and immaculately clean. Today Sherrill has sat down in front of a clay chunk left by another child. "That looks as if she wants to get at it," Mrs. Mathews observes. "See," she says, sitting down beside Sherrill and touching the clay with her own hands, "see, it's all right!"

Often she finds that a child, in order to gain courage, wants to let out first against her as a symbol of the authority he resents but must get used to. So she says, for instance, "I know you feel sometimes that I'm an old meanie and you'd like to pummel me. You can make a clay teacher and do it to her."

Mrs. Mathews is aware, too, of the fear the children hold inside, of bodily injury. She knows they often magnify things that have been done to them—or that they have done to themselves—in apprehension that these may have caused permanent hurt.

For whatever reason of his own, Larry obviously is enmeshed in such feelings now. He has made a crude figure and is taking an arm off and fastening it back. Mrs. Mathews watches carefully as Larry repeats the process, smoothing painstakingly. No angry tearing off here. The concentration is on the arm's staying on.

Mrs. Mathews' eyes move to Ben. He, too, is engrossed in the fastening-on process. Even though this is far from Christmas, he is making a snowman with deep concern for its head "being on tight." Yesterday he had a tower of blocks that he kept toppling over "accidentally" as if seeking the opportunity of rebuilding. And he had literally been spending hours taking apart puzzles and putting them together again and again. Ben had recently had his tonsils out. And a few days ago the school doctor had done vaccinations. Mrs. Mathews thinks to herself: Ben is proving that he is still whole and sound, even though his tonsils are gone. Aware, too, that after traumatic experiences, human beings are apt to regress to where they need much baby comforting,[28] she sits down for a moment beside him so that he can feel her with him, and, as she rises to move on, she pats him lovingly on the back. As with most every emotional experience, he would need to play this out many times.

Since she knows that children of this age almost always carry over a need to think out their enjoyment of messing and wetting, she has placed a linoleum rug in one corner of the room with a large dishpan on it. Two girls are now elbow-deep in wet clay. Moreover, "cleaning-up time" here is not a time for pushing

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[28] Sidney Margolin points this out in his chapter titled, "Genetic and Dynamic Psychophysiological Determinents of Pathophysiological Processes," in Felix Deutsch's symposium on the *Psychosomatic Concept in Psychoanalysis,* pp. 11-12. New York: International Universities Press, 1953.

frantically to get things in order but a long, leisurely period. "It's more fun to dribble water, squeezing the sponge again and again, than it is to mop up," says Mrs. Mathews, "though we manage that, too, in the end." [29]

In the use of various materials and in the course of many types of play, similar things can happen if the teacher remains attuned to children's emotions:

Here, in another school, Betsy's hands are slithering in finger paint for the sheer joy of the "feel."

> Wet guoosh.
> Doodoo guoosh.
> Piece guoosh.
> Wet.*

There, Tony stands at the wash basin turning the water on, turning the water off, turning it on and off, his face entranced.[30]

In a co-operative nursery school one of the fathers has adjusted the nozzle tip of the garden hose so that the flow of water is not too strong. And the teacher has designated a "hosing place" in the yard. Containers of one sort and another lend themselves to pouring, spilling, dripping. . . . And a large galvanized washtub attracts endless play. This is reminiscent of Nancy, four, in another nursery school, long ago. She was kneeling, dragging her sun-browned hand from side to side in just such a tub, slowly, feeling the water's fluidity.

> I love water. It's so *soft*.
> It runs by, and runs by. . . .
> You can't stop it, ever.

Carolyn, in still another school, has built a bed of big blocks and is lying on it, using an extra block for her bottle, obviously dramatizing baby play.

[29] In connection with the use of clay, some very suggestive material is to be found in Lauretta Bender's *Child Psychiatric Techniques*, chap. xiv. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1952.

* "Piece," her teacher discovers, has the same meaning as "doodoo" in her home.

[30] For possibilities of play with water as well as for varied expression in dramatic play and with other materials, see Ruth Hartley, Lawrence K. Frank, Robert M. Goldenson, *Understanding Children's Play*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

During rest-time in another school, the children come up spontaneously as they wish, cuddle for a few minutes in the teacher's welcoming lap, go back to their cots.

Here, a five-year-old has skinned a knee. The teacher does not try to stop his noisy bawling. Nor does she tell him to be a "big, brave man." "You feeling like crying; I know it hurts!" She lets him carry out his desire to climb into her lap, holds him baby-fashion, rocks him quietly. In a few moments he proffers a kleenex and, still like a baby, asks that she blow his nose. Then in swift return to five-year-oldness, he is up and away.

As for the matter of varied hostility outlets, these are particularly important. Since anger has accumulated from every period in the past, since anger is freshly called forth every day of a child's life, and since it can normally find many outlets in the preschool, this, above all other troubling emotions, concerns the teacher.[31]

From another kindergarten, excerpts from the teacher's own account read:

The class was very quarrelsome. The boys were fighting. Clifford would not let Franklin have the train. Gregory hit Allen for no apparent reason. The girls laughed loudly at all the goings on. The teacher called the children together and said, "I think you have lots of mean feelings."

Franklin answered, "Yes, I feel mean. I'm going to save my money and buy a bee-bee gun and shoot everyone. I hate everybody. . . ."

The teacher suggested that all those with mean feelings paint about them. Of the twenty in the class, fifteen made hostile pictures. Because there were not enough easels to go around, some spread their sheets on the floor.

"I'll show you how mean I feel," said Jimmie, painting "an ocean." "I'll show you how mean I feel. I want to throw everybody in the water."

"You can paint about a lot of things you'd like to do but really can't."[32, 33]

[31] On the release of hostility, see, for example: Hartley, Frank, and Goldenson, *ibid.;* Dorothy W. Baruch, "Therapeutic Procedures as Part of the Educative Process," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* IV (September-October, 1940), 165-72; Dorothy W. Baruch, "Incorporation of Therapeutic Procedures as Part of the Educative Process," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* XII (October, 1942), 659-65; and Gertrude Tipton, "Mental Hygiene in a War Nursery School," *Nervous Child,* IV (October, 1944), 218-19.

[32] From *Report to the First International Congress of Mental Health* by the Preparatory Commission on Psychological, Medical, and Sociological Impres-

In another kindergarten there is an actual family of dolls—father, mother, sister, brother, and baby. All come in for their share of attacks. "No, Ruth, you may not bite Lana. Here's a doll family. Pick out the one you'd really like to bite."

In a nursery-school sandbox a board gets buried: "Who was it?" "My baby. . . ."

In a bucket a toy duck is drowned: "It's name?" "Mommie Quack."

At the easel, three-year-old Patsy is brushing strokes all over the paper like a mass of scattered twigs.

"Tell me about it, Patsy," from the teacher encouragingly. (Note: She is not asking, "What is it?" Her purpose is not to push representation but to gain more understanding of what the child is feeling, should the child care to verbalize.)

"Hitting," says Patsy, noncommittally.

"You feel like hitting?"

"No. I'm a good girl."

"Even good girls feel like hitting sometimes."

More brush strokes, "You bad, bad doggie!" Stroke, stroke, stroke. (Hit, hit, hit!) "You bad mommie!" More strokes. "You bad, bad bum, Steve." (Her big brother.)

In the play yard antiphonally, with actions crudely fitting the words:

"Gnrrrhmff! Gnrrhmff!
I'm a teeger. . . .

"Gurr-rruff
I'm a bear. . . .

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sions of Children's Emotional Problems in Los Angeles, a Major War-Production Area; and a "Suggested Program for Helping To Meet Children's Emotional Needs through the Schools, 1948" (typescript).

[33] For suggestive material concerning drawing and painting, see, for instance: Dorothy W. Baruch and Hyman Miller, "Developmental Needs and Conflicts Revealed in Children's Art," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXII (January, 1952), 186-204; Florence Cane, *The Artist in Each of Us* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1951); Mendelowitz, *op. cit.*; Margaret Naumburg, *Studies of the Free Art Expression of Behavior-Problem Children and Adolescents as a Means of Diagnosis and Therapy*, chap. iv deals with a five-year-old disturbed boy (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, 1947); and Werner Wolff, *The Personality of the Preschool Child: The Child's Search for His Self* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1946).

"Grrrfff-fff
I'm a lion.
I'm the best biter,
I'll bite you all dead.

"You're dead
And you're dead. . . ."

"No, I'm the shooter."

"No, I'm the shooter,
Boinggg. . . ."

The teacher records it and later, in story-time, reads it back.[34] Then, pensively, "When I was a child, lots of times I wanted to bite the people in my house when I felt mean. . . ."

In kindergarten: "Stop kicking each other under the table," from the teacher very directly. "You've got to keep quiet now and drink your milk. But when you're through we'll write down stories about how you would like to kick people here and other people who aren't here, too. . . ."

In music time: "Horses don't only walk and trot and gallop," catching sight of timid Stanley making a tentative kicking motion. "They kick when they feel mean. Just give each horse enough room to kick in."

And immediately a dozen mean-feeling horses kick out furiously.

The Teacher's Own Feelings

We could continue indefinitely. We might discuss how, in more formal situations, certain periods can be utilized in more concentrated opportunities for release, or how some teachers are more comfortable when the more active playing-out of negative feelings is restricted to certain times of the day, although there always will be feelings that cannot wait and that call for immediate attention and response.

We might discuss limiting play-outs in terms of who is present. As one kindergarten teacher frankly put it to her children, "No

[34] For suggestions on recording children's poems, see: Dorothy W. Baruch, *Blimps and Such* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932); and Dorothy W. Baruch, *New Ways in Discipline*, chaps. xi and xiv (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949).

mean stories or talk or other mean business when visitors come, except if I let you know they are really understanding people!" . . . "Because lots of people don't understand?" . . . "Yes, that's right."

We might elaborate on how various equipment and materials offer particular opportunity for release. We might show how various activities, such as dramatic play and contacts of one sort and another between children, lend themselves to the working through of emotional problems. We might dwell on how younger children *play-out* and how, as they grow older, they become more and more able to *say out* many troubled feelings if they are helped to know that they are not "bad" in so doing, that they are still acceptable and that, as a result, they will not be punished or hurt.

We might go into the important matter of parents and teachers working together and of how it becomes possible far more often than teachers imagine to gain concurrence and co-operation from parents. For, by and large, parents turn to teachers as "people who know."

We might talk about the co-operative nursery-school movement, so alive in the possibilities it suggests for fostering parent-teacher understandings.[35]

We could expand these and many more aspects of the very big question before us. But the essence lies in the teacher. She needs support from her administration. She needs guidance in learning to identify children who need referral for specialized treatment. She needs to learn more of how child-therapists work and needs to gain from their procedures suggestions she can adapt.[36] She needs varied opportunities in her preservice and in-service training to try out and experience the practices we have been talking about.

But the true essence goes deeper. It reaches down into the teacher's own feelings, into her ability to identify, into her own

[35] See Katherine Whiteside-Taylor, *Parent Co-operative Nursery Schools*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1954.

[36] See, for instance, the following, the first two of which are written from a nondirective point of view, the last from a psychoanalytic: Virginia M. Axline, *Play Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947); Clark E. Moustakas, *Children in Play Therapy* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1953); and Dorothy W. Baruch, *One Little Boy* (New York: Julien Press, 1952).

willingness to admit that troubled feelings do exist.[37] And for this, there is only one way: Through admission that she too, within herself, has her own troubled feelings. Not only sorrow or pain or fear but anger also. For any sorrow or pain or fear—any anxiety that carries the individual into unrest or disequilibrium—is bound to make him not only unhappy but resentful.

Such feelings can be very frightening, unless one recognizes what we have been reiterating, the kernel of which lies in the old chant that "Sticks and stones will break my bones, but words will never hurt me."

The act, the deed, the hurling of sticks and stones—this must be controlled, stopped if necessary, limited. But the feelings which have their own verity, no matter how much they are denied or hidden and which propel and compel so much of human action— these our young children can learn to bring out in words or in play that is *not hurtful*.

As they learn to channel feelings, there will need to be less hurling of actual weapons. And life will hold greater promise of peace.

[37] If dynamically oriented supervision can be present, this too is helpful, as is also some therapeutic experience for the teacher herself. See, for instance, Otto Spranger, "Psychoanalytic Pedagogy," *Psychoanalysis*, I (Fall, 1952), 59-70.

Mental-Health Practices in the Primary Grades

HELEN SHACTER

Although the basic needs and problems of children are essentially the same at all ages, there are characteristic strivings at various stages of development. We generally think of school children in terms of their grade levels, for as most children grow and mature they progress regularly in school. We know that their progress through the early and later school periods is influenced by the nature and extent to which their developmental needs are satisfied [1] and that the child himself must make many adjustments.

Thus in each grade, each child is faced with special adjustments related to his growth. We do try to give attention to and provide suitable experience for groups according to assumed needs at successive levels. This is a logical expedient, but it is important to recognize that it *is* an expedient which is incomplete and unsatisfactory for many boys and girls; for in every classroom there are both immature pupils and rapid learners who are not cared for by such group provisions.

Understanding Each Child's Unique Personality

Can we, then, present a word-picture which shows what boys and girls are like at the primary level? Can it be used to help a particular child at the primary level? Yes, *if* the limitations of such a presentation are recognized, and if certain reservations are kept in mind.

[1] For amplification of this concept, see: Erik Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," in *Problems of Infancy and Childhood*, Supplement II (New York: Josiah Macy Foundation, 1950); Robert Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, chap. iv (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953); Gladys Jenkins, Helen Shacter, and William Bauer, *These Are Your Children*, pp. 284-99 (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1953, expanded edition); Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Our Children and Our Schools*, pp. 23-26 (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1951).

A child can be understood and should be treated *only in terms of his own individual growth pattern, within the framework of his own individual background of experiences.* This is a requisite to understanding him and fostering his growth. It is of utmost importance at the primary level.

It is necessary too to know *what most boys and girls are like as they grow from year to year.* Accordingly, an understanding of characteristic patterns and of growth is essential for effective guidance and instruction.

The teacher will find her appreciation of primary children enhanced by study of the literature which portrays typical maturation patterns; also, she will find this literature of value in the identification of children whose behavior differs sharply from the average.

AWARENESS OF GROWTH CHANGES PERMITS PERSONALIZATION

Primary children differ, of course, from preschool children. And throughout the primary period they show additional changes as they mature slowly.[2, 3]

In this age range, physical growth is still relatively slow, but there is generally a greater improved muscular co-ordination and eye-hand co-ordination. The activity level is still very high, but the child can usually stay quiet for short periods of time. The attention-span shows some increase, but long-sustained, concentrated effort is rare. Learning is most satisfying when there is active participation in concrete situations. Primary children are not yet ready for much abstract thinking.

The understanding teacher takes cognizance of these facts by not insisting upon exactness in such tasks as making letters and drawing. And she plans frequent changes of activity. In teaching, she uses the method of *showing* more often than that of *telling*, and encourages concrete demonstration of the learning accomplished, whether in dealing with number facts, concepts of size and space, or interpretations of the class discussions. Thus method reflects awareness of mental health needs, for under such teaching conditions young children learn with satisfaction and hence feel most content within themselves.

[2] Ruth Strang, *An Introduction to Child Study*, chap. xiv. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951.

[3] Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

The primary child wants to do things well. He takes increased responsibility, but he still requires supervision, since young children's enthusiasm is greater than their judgment. For these youngsters an activity in itself is often more attractive than the end result.

Dependence is growing toward independence in many ways. The child is also becoming sensitive to the approval of his peer group as well as to the approval of adults. He improves in his ability to plan and to co-operate with his group—with, however, persisting emphasis on having his turn and his rights. He resents being "bossed" or not treated fairly.

Boys and girls play together, but increasingly there are differences in how and what they like best to play. These differences are not inherent differences between boys and girls. Rather, they reflect the influence of the culture which considers appropriate birthday gifts of dolls for little girls and trains for little boys; which accepts weaving and sewing for girls but which is likely to frown upon such pastimes for boys; and which encourages rough and active play in boys while urging girls to be more passive in their activities. So girls are inclined to enjoy dressing up and playing house; boys generally prefer cops and robbers, cowboys and Indians, war games. Cutting out paper dolls attracts the girl; the boys like work with simple tools and enjoy model planes and cars.

Play often reflects more than a cultural pattern, however.[4] It also very frequently expresses unvoiced, confused thoughts, fantasies, impulses, worries, and fears. If the teacher recognizes this, she may often be able to understand and allay a child's inner anxieties and antagonisms.

Tactful channeling of bubbling enthusiasm and widening interests is needed, but there should be a minimum of interference, and expectations should be kept appropriate to primary-level capacities. The individual child should be accepted for what he is and for what he can do at his own level of development. Undue criticism or pressure may result in refusal to co-operate, or in a return to outgrown baby ways, or perhaps in extreme aggression toward other children, or solace in self-absorbing dreaminess.

[4] Ruth Hartley, Lawrence Frank, and Robert Goldenson, *Understanding Children's Play*, chap. i. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

NEW CONCEPTS AND NEW DEMANDS AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL

The first-grade child has arrived at a place in his growth which is very important to him. He goes to school. This has many new meanings for him, and problems too, of which some are social and emotional in nature.[5]

Now he must place less dependence on mother to smooth out his difficulties. He must make his own way with friends of his own age, many of whom his mother does not even know. He must find his own place in a situation where mothers do not have an important or a regular part. He must give more, compete more, be more.

Even in the first few years of school, differences in ways of doing things, in ways of thinking about things and about people often become apparent to the child. His home was once the only place in which he formed concepts and attitudes, and he accepted these acquisitions without question. Now there comes the necessity of relinquishing some ideas, or of reconciling them with other ideas, and perhaps of relearning some ideas. For he finds that his teacher, too, is an authority—not just his mother and his father; and he sees other boys and girls with ideas and manners unlike those of his brothers and sisters at home. He may understandably be confused, even disturbed.

The extent to which independence, initiative, the ability to interact socially with a group are acquired determines very largely the role a child plays and the adjustment he achieves in his early school years. They continue to be significant in later years as well. As they are determined largely by his earlier experiences, they influence markedly his later behavior and feelings and attitudes. They are qualities which should be securely established through the child's daily living, in and out of school.

SOME ADULT WAYS INVITE UNDESIRABLE CHILD RESPONSES

But independence is not easy to achieve. Initiative is not always met with encouragement. And social interrelationships are frequently uncomfortably developed in the formative, early school period. Moreover, social skills need a great deal of practice.

[5] Leon Saul, *Emotional Maturity*, pp. 26-27. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947.

The primary child meets many difficulties in making his own decisions and in carrying through what he wants to do. His efforts at self-assertion may be misunderstood and he may be scolded for wanting his own way, for not listening, for being rough or rude. This can be disappointing and troubling. He feels often that grownups do not understand. He is trying to leave earlier ways. He has often been urged to be "big." Yet, when increasingly independent ways substitute for dependent ones, disapproval often follows. When adult help is rejected and vigorous attempt is made to do things for himself, impatience may meet his slow or awkward efforts. *A child is not helped to feel adequate when adults respond in such a manner.* He is made ill at ease and uncertain of himself.

This uncertainty may show itself in various ways, and frequently the ways of behaving bring more adult disapproval. This is usually disconcerting to children. And sometimes they attract ridicule or criticism from the peer group, which is also disturbing.

In an effort to improve this situation, a child may return to outgrown ways, seeking the adult acceptance which he feels is threatened by his newer strivings to prove his adequacy. Or he may try insistently for inappropriate goals, determined to show his fitness. There may appear fearfulness, indecision, reluctance to face any change from comfortably familiar ways.

If young children's needs, desires, and impulses are recognized,[6] such reactions can be minimized. A great deal of patience is needed by adults working with children at this level. If there is also sympathetic understanding of what the child is eager to do and why he is so impelled, there is less strain and friction.

In the first school grades there is a *becoming* rather than an *arriving* process. And progress forward is seldom steady and even. There will be times when the child seems to be just as he has been over a long period, with no apparent growth being made toward greater skill or adequacy. But there will also be times when rapid progress is evident, and the boy or girl of a few months ago may seem much more mature. If adults can refrain from showing impatience, if they can conquer their own feelings of doubt and discouragement about him, they will be helping the child's progress.

[6] *Personality in the Making,* pp. 14 ff. Edited by Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

How Physical Factors May Impede Progress
in Other Growth Areas

The fact that physical factors may influence growth in other areas is not difficult to accept, once the chief characteristic of the human growth process is recognized: *Growth is continuous, but it is not uniform in rate.* And there are times when powerful influences affect development and achievement.

An accident, a long-protracted illness such as polio or rheumatic fever, surgery, a series of infectious diseases—these often have more than a physical aftermath. The broken leg or the serious burn or the illness which means a long time spent in bed frequently brings more than bodily pain and discomfort. The child may have an uneasy sense of having interfered with adult plans, or of having lost the good-will of adults because of the trouble he causes them. Such guilt feelings can be very disturbing and may be accompanied by withdrawing behavior ("No one wants to be with someone like me") or by unsocial ways ("I'll show them I don't care if they like me or not") or by other signs of inner distress, such as excessive day-dreaming.

Strangely, however, the afflicted child may find considerable satisfaction in his physical difficulties, for this additional solicitude and expressed anxiety for his well-being may dispel a disturbing feeling of uncertainty as to whether his parents really love him. The time and attention given him may be his reassurance that the family baby or an older sibling is not, after all, the only recipient of parental affection. Reluctant to relinquish what is, to him, evidence of love and acceptance and testing his parents' willingness to comply with what he exacts from them, a child may find satisfaction by prolonging his disability.[7]

Thus physical-health conditions affect a child's development not only physically but also socially and emotionally. In school, it is well for the teacher to be informed concerning the physical-health history of each child when understanding is sought of troublesome or unusual behavior: too frequent tears; undue complaint of an ache; jealous resentment of attention shown another child; exces-

[7] Helen Shacter, *How Personalities Grow*, p. 207. Bloomington: McKnight & McKnight, 1949.

sive need for adult approval; unusual reluctance to leave an adult
for association with children; and so forth. There may seem to be
no logical relationship between a past illness and present behavior,
but there is often a subtle emotional relationship which persists.

If the teacher is conscious of the background of a child's less-
than-desirable behavior, problems can be alleviated by reassuring
the child through acceptance of his temporary need to have a little
more attention than usual. Then, too, words of encouragement can
be judiciously used, or in other ways the teacher may show sym-
pathetic understanding. Sometimes a smile or a nod will give a
child the feeling that his teacher is sensitive to his hurt or insecure
feelings. Sometimes the teacher may, by using a recess period for
a friendly chat, trusting a child to perform an errand, or having a
short talk with a child just before the school day begins, give him
the added stamina necessary to following his daily routine.

It should be recognized that the school child is also a home
child, and the feelings aroused by happenings at home influence his
adjustment at school. Accordingly, understanding and co-operation
are required between the home and the school.

HOW THE HOME ATMOSPHERE MAY INTERFERE WITH DEVELOPMENT AND ADJUSTMENT

Of course circumstances unrelated to physical health also need
recognition. There are many contributing influences which affect
children's social and emotional behavior. Sometimes the home
atmosphere is strained and tense because of frequent quarrels or
arguments between the parents. A child may be gravely disturbed
by such dissension. Often he cannot understand the short temper
and irritability of his parents or the seemingly unwarranted criticism
and impatience of other adults he loves. Too often a child in such
a home assumes that he is somehow at fault, and he may develop
guilt feelings which affect severely his emotional health and general
well-being.

Sometimes the presence of a new baby creates in the child a
feeling that he has someway failed to fulfil parental expectations.
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others who cannot understand what they assume to be their own failure.

The presence of a handicapped child in a family may create an especially difficult home situation for the other children. Such a boy or girl should be accepted by his parents, and, of course, he should be helped to achieve a satisfying adjustment within the limits of his capacities. But more should not be demanded than such a child can accomplish. Nor, in all fairness to other children in the family, should disproportionate time and energy and attention be lavished on the unfortunate one. If such a child is unable to profit from the efforts of the parents but needs the help of specialists, harm may be done the other children if the parents overemphasize the exceptional child's situation and neglect his brothers and sisters.

Undue anxiety for and concentration on one child in a family or in a classroom may deprive another of what he desperately needs for sturdy progress. Such a situation sometimes establishes a heart-breaking additional burden for an unhappy child who might have reached wholesome personality growth had the parents and teachers been able to face the differing needs and limitations of all their children. Some excellent teachers spend a considerable portion of the first year in getting to know children and their home situations. For example, during the summer one first-grade teacher visited the home of every child who was going to be in her class. In their homes the children were interviewed and the parents filled out a home-information inquiry. When the children came to school, they had the assurance that they were understood and welcome. Later this was especially evident to them when their teacher used each child's experience in varied ways to develop charts for reading.

Paul Witty tells of another teacher who spent the first few weeks of the school year in becoming acquainted with her pupils. She employed interest inventories and anecdotal records to obtain information, some of which she discussed with the parents. Her inquiry revealed some children's fear of school, or insecurity at home, or sibling rivalry or hostility, or other concerns. Interests too were revealed and were used to motivate learning. The information concerning each child's emotional needs was also used in planning activities to relieve tensions and reduce anxieties. Under

these conditions, learning became a successful and happy pursuit.[8]

In all her work, close co-operation with parents is necessary at the primary level. In some cases the teacher may help by suggesting to the parents the results of their attitudes toward their children. If the parents face the reality of the situation, the children may become realistic, too.

Both the child who is a deviate and his normal brother or sister can be given encouragement through teacher contact. She can make each child feel that he is accepted and understood.

In providing for many deviates—the deaf and hard of hearing, the palsied and the crippled, the blind and partially seeing, the mentally retarded—the teacher needs special skills and special facilities, and programs and routines must be flexible. But perhaps of greatest significance is the role the teacher is so often called upon to play in helping the afflicted child deal with his feelings about himself in relation to others.[9, 10] So, too, in dealing with the gifted child, the teacher can be of great help in stimulating him to express and develop his unusual abilities.

Difficulty often confronts the exceptional child in meeting his social and emotional problems. His disability imposes limitations which both he and the group at school must accept. His special requirements include not only adapting himself to school materials and procedures but also learning to adapt himself so as to get along congenially with others.

UNAVOIDABLE CIRCUMSTANCES MAY CREATE STRESS

Other circumstances, too, may hamper the healthy personality development and adjustment of children. Many environmental situations are far from ideal but are unavoidable. Planning must then be carried on with consideration for the emotional well-being of

[8] Paul Witty, *Reading in Modern Education*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949. See also, *Mental Health in the Classroom.* Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. Paul Witty, Chairman. Washington: National Education Association, 1940.

[9] *Personality in the Making, op. cit.,* p. 266.

[10] *Emotional Problems Associated with Handicapped Conditions in Children,* pp. 6-9. Children's Bureau Publication, No. 336. Washington: Federal Security Agency, 1952.

all who are involved. The school must recognize that often the parents are fully aware of the child's difficulty but are unable to alter conditions in the home. Whatever help the teacher can suggest to meet the situation should be offered the parents. Simply to make a critical observation regarding the impact of the inevitable does little good.

Perhaps an aged or ill relative must move into the child's home. Restrictions and requirements may be puzzling to the child and hard for him to accept. Perhaps military service takes the father away for a long time, and the child's mother must work outside the home. Such youngsters may be neglected or deprived of emotional support. Perhaps the death of someone in the family arouses distressing dread lest another similar loss occur. When the teacher knows the circumstances, she can help, not in changing, but in meeting the situation.

Free discussion with the parents of an emotionally traumatic experience sometimes does a great deal to improve conditions at home.[11] Sympathetic acceptance of the child's feelings as far as he can or will express them is salutary and frequently makes more bearable what might otherwise be overwhelming to him. Many times children feel themselves implicated in crises in which they are actually only incidentally involved. They may carry a heavy burden in guilt feelings from which they could be relieved if there were opportunity to talk the whole matter through and have an explanation scaled to their ability to understand.

Obviously the school is not always aware of home happenings. But when a child seems anxious or worried, or when his behavior becomes unduly hostile and aggressive, or when his lessons are done with less than usual interest and success, checking with the child and with his family may suggest the cause of the difficulty.

It is unwise for the adults close to the child to assume that, "He'll get over it," when he shows evidence of having been seriously disturbed by home happenings. Rather, they should feel, "He can be helped to understand," and should make every effort to clarify the experience and thus to lessen his anxiety. Subtle undercurrents may thus be redirected so that progressive emotional growth can be aided rather than impeded.

[11] *Personality in the Making, op. cit.,* p. 203.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES HAVE SIGNIFICANCE

Some situations do not directly involve interpersonal relationships. Poverty, or very limited means in comparison with those of a child's associates, may result in a youngster's complaining of being unfairly treated or left out of the activities of his peers. Or, if his experiential background has not included the advantages other children have gained through various contacts, excursions, trips, and the like, the child often feels he has been discriminated against. Inner reactions under these circumstances may give rise to various undesirable behavior responses. Uncomfortable feelings may show themselves in self-effacing behavior, or in irritating belligerence. Children may be spurred to win special recognition for acceptable accomplishment in school work or in art or music lessons outside of school—or they may feel discouraged and unwilling to try to achieve anything accepted as worthy. Too often then they are ready for delinquent ways of behaving.

Even when a child is from a "privileged" home, his background may be, for him, a very troublesome matter. With a broader social horizon, some primary-school children begin early to make comparisons between their parents' ways and the ways of their friends' mothers and fathers. Language, nationality, and religious differences cannot be ignored when they make a child feel unlike his mates and, so, less estimable than they. Again, a deeply sensed guilt can create a serious problem: To feel ashamed of one's parents, or critical of them, worries many boys and girls. The reactions to such a situation vary widely. Shyness, or even seclusiveness, may become characteristic of one child. Quarrelsomeness and constant criticism may be a defense of another. Sullen or impudent or even delinquent behavior may be the unfortunate shield behind which a child seeks to uphold his inner feelings of being worthy—only to show himself in an unworthy light.[12]

If the school is to aid in the total progress of its children, their attitudes and behavior are matters for record and concern as well as their achievement in academic skills. The impact of the home is always far-reaching and long-lasting. Social, emotional, and academic advance may be threatened if school help is not given when home circumstances are difficult or disturbing.

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[12] Erikson, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

In the classroom the apparent problem may be slowness in learning to read or in understanding number concepts. But such a problem may actually reflect home conditions. Even when they do not seem to be at all related to the present difficulty in learning, they often are a source of difficulty for the child and to some degree causal of ineffective school work.

Problems in learning are not the only troublesome outcomes of insecurity in children. The evidence of this disturbing factor may be shown in a child's reluctance to give a talk before his group, it may appear as an unusual display of affection for another child or for an adult. It may appear too as a disabling fear, or in the form of a violent temper outburst. *Any continued undesirable behavior response from a child suggests the need for checking his mental health and the conditions influencing it,* just as any symptom of impaired bodily health (fatigue, fever, a persisting cough or ache, for example) suggests the need for a thorough physical check.

Only Careful Study Uncovers Causal Relationships

One must, of course, move cautiously in considering a child's mental health. Human personality, child or adult, is not simple to understand. Undesirable behavior and unhappy feelings are generally evidence of inner turmoil. But the underlying reasons for the fighting or stealing or shyness or fearfulness, the basis for the injured or unhealthy feelings—these are not readily ascertained.

An apparent cause often proves to be of only secondary significance, or even entirely unrelated to the development of a particular problem. More than one child may have the same difficulty as far as its overt manifestation is concerned. But different reasons usually will be found to have brought about the behavior reaction which is of concern to the school.

Learning to read provides an illustration of this. In one group of first-grade children, three youngsters had especial difficulty with reading. For the teacher, the manifestation was the same. For the children, the causal factor was unique in each instance. Ted's vision was faulty and required the help of glasses. Rose was a slow learner who needed more time and more individual aid than most youngsters. Philip, greatly upset by the arrival of twin brothers whom he regarded as threats to his position in the household and to his

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mother's love, was unable to turn his attention to reading because it was so intently focused on his deep feelings of emotional insecurity. His better-than-average intelligence did not compensate for his troubled feelings. The teacher's problem with these children was clearly not the same. For adequate handling, her approach with each child needed understanding of the causal elements in each child's difficulty.

But even the presence of a similar difficulty does not mean that all children react similarly to it. Many youngsters whose vision needs correction with glasses nevertheless make considerable progress in reading, working with extra effort or more intent concentration, or being motivated more highly to achieve. And many youngsters into whose homes new babies are born do not show poor school accomplishment in consequence.

It is never safe to assume the basis for a problem without carefully investigating many aspects of the situation of the child who faces the problem.[13] All children respond uniquely to the circumstances of their lives, and the relationships of cause and effect may be involved. Sometimes the investigation is best left to the expert trained in the field of emotional adjustment of children, rather than undertaken by the teacher, relatively unskilled or perhaps too little experienced in the many complexities of this field.[14]

Behavior responses cannot be exactly predicted. Readiness to learn and to progress in any area—social, emotional, intellectual, or physical—must be seen as dependent upon a particular child's maturity level in that area, *and upon the interplay of all phases of his life.*

The wise teacher seeks to foster development in each child in terms of his capacity to accomplish. Whatever interferes must first be recognized, then, if possible, remedied or removed. The impeding factor may be poor vision or poor family relationships. It may come from limited social experiences or limited mental ability. Until its nature is determined, appropriate steps cannot be taken to help the child.

[13] Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* p. 41. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950.

[14] Lester Crow and Alice Crow, *Mental Hygiene,* p. 106. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951.

SOME CHILDREN HAVE SPECIAL NEEDS

When a child deviates markedly in some way from other children, especially difficult demands face home and school. Exceptional understanding is needed for the exceptional child. There may be no outward evidence of limitations, as with some mentally retarded children, or there may be all too apparent physical handicaps. If there is need of a special educational program and a school system makes no such provision, it becomes the obligation of the teacher to seek out whatever means are possible to provide as emotionally healthy an environment as is possible for the youngster with a special disability.

This will involve patient help to the child not only in academic work geared to his ability but also in social relationships and in emotional acceptance of himself—and often, too, it will involve help to his family in understanding and accepting emotionally the existing situation. And in this regard it should not be forgotten that many children in need of exceptional understanding are not handicapped by impaired or retarded development.

Many boys and girls, in comparison with their age group, have progressed more rapidly, perhaps in physical growth, perhaps in intellectual growth. They, too, are deviates. They, too, need individualized opportunities in terms of their unusual growth rates and growth potentials, if their development is to be sound. Progress and adjustment can be hampered and impaired through lack of provision appropriate for them. Undesirable work habits and attitudes toward accomplishment often interfere with the good work otherwise possible. Social relationships and emotional stability may suffer through limited or inadequate planning for these youngsters.

ALL INDIVIDUALS HAVE BASIC NEEDS

There are needs which are general human needs and which do not belong specifically to any level of development or any level of ability. These are needs which must be met from earliest childhood on through the adult years if individuals are to reach contentment and satisfaction, if they are to be responsible and happy.

Among the most significant is the *need to experience success*— to feel capable in what one undertakes to carry through. Also highly important is the *sense of being accepted*—liked for one's

self, approved for what one is and does. And included, also, is the *desire to "match up"* with others of one's group—not to feel apart because of differences in ways of being or of living.[18]

Some people are more dependent than others upon the satisfaction of such needs, but all people are motivated by them in some degree. Children at the primary level have these same urges, these same motivating forces of behavior. And they, too, differ in the degree of the satisfactions required.

It should not surprise anyone working in a primary classroom to find Tommy going ahead at a nod from his teacher, but Edward so uncertain that much encouragement and urging are needed for him to start any task. Or to see Betty peering constantly over the top of teacher's desk for approval of how her lesson is progressing on her paper, while Marie gets sufficient support from the directions and suggestions given the group, turning in her finished paper without requiring individual commendation. Nor is it unusual to find one child well-liked by his classmates, and another—with comparable looks, ability, skill in games—practically without friends.

LEARNING OTHER THAN BOOK LEARNING

Well-rounded progress requires more than book learning. It demands emotional learning, and social learning. The school must, therefore, provide for its children not only appropriate subject matter and aid in mastering it but also help toward the development of appropriate and acceptable feelings and attitudes in other areas of child growth.

A sense of competence is important. So a child must have tasks within the range of successful accomplishment. A feeling of acceptance of self is important. And a child will be more likely to accept himself if he feels that others—his parents, his teachers, the peer group—accept him. This condition comes partly from his feeling that they approve of what he does. So a child needs to have recognition and to hear praise for what he achieves. Thus, he will have confidence that his needs will be met, and he will feel secure.

Not all children come to school feeling secure. Many do not feel competent, and others sense quickly that they are not accepted or liked by other children. The school is called upon to increase

[18] Shacter, *How Personalities Grow, op. cit.,* pp. 44-45.

children's adequacy, responsibility, and successful social interaction if it accepts as important its duty to promote children's happiness in living. And even though the teacher cannot find the opportunity to know individually and intimately the twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five (or more) youngsters who come to her room each day, she can still do a great deal to promote their sturdy growth in mental health.

Fundamental Bases for Teaching

The general development level of a grade, the stage of maturity reached by most children in her class, is knowledge every teacher should have. A wide range of individual differences in physical, mental, social and emotional characteristics within her group is a fact which every teacher must face.

Armed with an understanding of children, the primary-level teacher is spared many discouragements and much fruitless effort. For she tempers appropriately her expectations of individual response and individual achievement. She provides for occasional unrestricted activity but assumes leadership in directing her energetic and relatively inexperienced children in their excursions into group activity. She offers stimulation for active curiosity and encourages the expression of existing interests and helps to broaden and extend them.

THE TEACHER'S ROLE TAKES MORE THAN SKILL

The teacher's own individuality cannot be ignored. Her own background cannot be overlooked. Often a degree of self-searching is needed to assure herself of accepting every child as worthy of her respect and her concern. There is no place for a display of intolerance of racial or religious or language differences, nor of other cultural differences, in the classroom. Indeed, there is no rightful place outside the classroom, either, but, being realistic, we recognize that the adult teacher was once a child and absorbed the influences of the particular milieu within which she grew and developed.[16] Sometimes the sincere teacher must strive to understand and dispel early biases, to recognize and escape early prejudices. And sometimes she must seek to do away with existing outside influences upon her children and upon their parents. For these influences may bring disharmony into the classroom group. Her insight

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[16] Harold Bernard, *Mental Health for Classroom Teachers*, p. 145. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952.

must be keen to bring about fortunate relationships. Her understanding must be subtle and her behavior judicious.

Every group presents both a problem and a challenge to the teacher because of its many and varied personalities. The deviant children with their disparate interests and capacities, all need to be brought into a functioning whole.

But always some children can be encouraged toward shared endeavor, others toward independent use of their energies, yet all toward a common goal. Some will be the imaginative leaders. A few will contribute little more than their acquiescent presence. Many will participate with about equal ability. For this is the nature of an unselected group. Individuals can always be helped toward better co-operation, contributing to a group undertaking in accord with their particular abilities. Healthful social and emotional learning may be advanced in learning a new vocabulary, new number combinations, and other new academic concepts.

The better a teacher knows her children as individuals, clearly the more she can help draw each into active and appropriate group participation. Many different roles must be filled to complete any group project, so that children with different inclinations, different maturity levels, and different capacities can with care be well cast.

Jerry may need to be deflected from choosing a part to play which he cannot successfully manage. Irene may require urging toward what she will find a challenging and stimulating endeavor rather than be permitted to suffer boredom from too simple and repetitive an activity.

Learning for the primary-level child is most satisfying when he is an active participant in a concrete situation. If participation is too short-lived it is not likely to be very productive for the child. And it shall be short-lived if it is inappropriate for him as an individual.

But whether a child is quick and alert to grasp ideas, or slow and indecisive, his efforts should not be disparaged. To belittle a child, to criticize him impatiently, to hurry him beyond his capabilities, tears down his feeling of self-respect as well as his inner assurance of being acceptable. He turns to his teacher for support and affection and encouragement. Without such help he will struggle in vain to achieve the independence and initiative so important at this level of his development.

Attention to Mental Health Implements All Learning

Emphasis upon meeting the fundamental social and emotional needs of children at the primary level does not imply the neglect of subject matter and the skills. Rather, emphasis upon meeting the basic needs of childhood personalities encourages good mental health—and good mental health provides a stimulus which encourages effective learning. *There is integration of intellectual with social and emotional aspects of living when effective learning takes place.*

How subject matter is taught is as important as *what* is taught. The feeling-tone of the teacher-contacts with children and with their parents, and the success of the child's reaction to his associates, are powerful determinants of good mental health and of successful accomplishment as well. Since enduring attitudes so often have their start in primary-grade experiences, this period in the educational program needs especially sympathetic awareness and alert handling from the teacher.

Some homes will co-operate more successfully than others. Home understanding and interest cannot go beyond what the parents are capable of achieving, and parents, like children, are, after all, individuals and hence differ both in ability and in personality. Helping a parent perform successfully at his level of understanding is what the school should seek to accomplish. And inevitably this is reflected in the child's adjustment in school.

Perhaps one of the most vital goals toward which the school can aim in working with children at the primary level is to encourage the development of feelings of adequacy in both social and subject-matter endeavors. For the school child who becomes discouraged and disinterested may become seriously disturbed emotionally; and even a slight impairment can establish a handicap.[17]

The child whose tasks are such that he can accomplish them successfully—whose social relationships are such that he feels liked and accepted by adult and child groups—whose interests bring a feeling of stimulation and eagerness in daily activities—that child has good mental health, with an excellent foundation for continued stable and healthful emotional living.

[17] *Personality in the Making, op. cit.,* pp. 18-19.

Mental-Health Practices in the Intermediate Grades

FRANCES M. WILSON

Understanding the Problems of Intermediate-Grade Pupils

In the psychoanalytic literature concerning latency, psychiatrists stress the absence of sex drives and the emergence of ego strengths as the primary characteristics of children in the age group nine through twelve. Teachers who live with these children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, find the period difficult to understand. They recognize an elusive quality about the boys and girls of this age and feel that they are meeting them almost entirely at surface levels. Even teachers and parents who find it easy to understand the symbolic language of little children and the verbalizations of adolescents experience a barrier that stems from the noncommunicative nature of many children in this intermediate-age group.

The professional literature during the past thirty years has made teachers and parents keenly aware of the complex elements involved in the growth and development of children during the early childhood period. It has also almost distorted concepts of adolescence by stressing the turbulance of youth: the fluctuating moods, the social strivings, the sex pressures, the demanding goals, the family influences—all to be faced in a highly concentrated period of time. It is not surprising that the problems of the middle years seem light by contrast and that the child of the latency period, insulated by a variety of activities, group supports, and what often appears to be an absence of emotional responsiveness, tends to be neglected. To parents and teachers, this child often appears to be in a kind of psychological deep-freeze. What is significant about him behind his facade of collections (stamps, bottle tops, and model planes)? Is learning occurring in spite of the almost irrefutable contradic-

tions of such written expressions as quayor for choir, bracise for breakfast, ascream for ice cream, clackt for clock, grobeich for garbage, and when even the magic word "television" is almost universally misspelled? What are the characteristics of the boys and girls of these intermediate years? What are the motivations, the interests, the pressures of these boys and girls who display so curious a blend of endless physical motion and psychological somnolence?

To challenge certain stereotypes in thinking about these boys and girls, to test principles regarding learning, to explore factors in the present cultural milieu, to learn more about their thoughts and feelings, and to study the practices of their teachers and their parents, a variety of investigations were made especially for this yearbook chapter. The methods employed in collecting the data are those which may be used very effectively by classroom teachers who wish to learn more about their children. Knowledge of children's problems is basic to understanding their needs and to attempting to meet them.

1. Two thousand boys and girls of this age group, representative of the varied intellectual and social levels, kept daily schedules which were reviewed.
2. Teachers wrote about their own school experiences during the intermediate years.
3. Boys and girls submitted various personal documents: unfinished stories; compositions on "What I Criticize About Myself," "What Others Criticize About Me," "My Life Ten Years From Now," "The Person I Would Like To Be," "What Makes Me Mad," "If I Were Mother," and so forth.
4. Parents of children in this age group reviewed the problems about which they are most concerned through study of questionnaire responses and in discussion groups.
5. The pupils reported upon their hobbies, their friendships, books read, and the like, in questionnaires and during discussions.
6. Case studies of bright, normal, dull, and delinquent students were made; data were analyzed regarding boys admitted during the current year to special schools for boys presenting behavior problems.
7. Classes were observed, and the activities of the students were noted.

From these approaches, information was obtained about the characteristics of children in this age group: their interests, use of time, feelings, behavior, and attitudes. Ways in which teachers and parents might help became evident.

Characteristics of Children of the Intermediate Grades

ANALYSES OF TIME SCHEDULES

Review of data found in the time schedules presents certain basic information about interests, responsibilities, and the ways the boys and girls spend their time. Homework is an almost negligible factor. When it is reported in the time schedules, it is usually because some adult is checking, or because a report must be made. When homework is referred to, it is usually an arithmetic or spelling assignment that is mentioned. Reading as a leisure activity was reported in less than 2 per cent of the time schedules. Television viewing, on the other hand, accounts for almost four hours a day in the lives of the vast majority of these children. Even during the hasty noon-lunch period, the television set is turned on. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that highest on the list of "things others criticize in me" is "looking at television too much."

Almost every TV program is mentioned at one time or another, although the most popular programs with the boys are those relating to *Superman,* space ships, and life on the other planets. "Rocket Man," "Captain Video," and "Sky King," are the modern boys' heroes. All the variety shows are popular, too, as are quiz programs and "give-aways." Cowboy pictures, mysteries, and plays are included. "I Love Lucy," is named universally; "Howdy Doody" is still enjoyed; "Dragnet" is especially well liked.

Recently many adults have commented that they believe there is a decrease in the amount of televiewing done by young people. The reports of these New York City young people would seem to present contradictory evidence, although the findings were drawn during two weeks in the winter when the weather would invite indoor rather than outdoor activity.

Perhaps the most striking finding from a study of the time schedules is the number of chores performed by these children. Life is an almost continuous trip "to the store for my mother." Many children go before school, during lunch, and after school. Some shop for grandmother as well as for mother, and some make many separate trips for each household. The children also assume considerable responsibility for washing the dishes. Some of them return from school to face the soiled dishes from breakfast. A ma-

jority of them help with supper dishes, although they have little responsibility in the preparation of supper. Some of them prepare breakfast for themselves as well as for their younger brothers and sisters. They report considerable "cleaning" although much of this seems to be caring for their own rooms and light work such as dusting. Occasionally feelings break through. One boy reported, "I have a secret; I scrub the floors for my mother." Apparently he was ashamed to have his "unmanly" activity known; yet he gave no evidence of rebellion because he knew the task was required of him. Among the chores there is also mention of care given pets. The dog is "walked" and fed, and even the cat is "bathed."

"Minding" younger brothers and sisters, more frequently a responsibility of girls rather than boys, is reported upon favorably. Girls of ten and eleven express a certain amount of pleasure in "protecting" the younger brothers and sisters, especially when the age difference is a significant one and the younger child is still very young. When there is a narrowing of the age gap, there is often outright hostility expressed toward the younger child and the fact that his demands must be met. However, sibling rivalry is more controlled than during the earlier years.

Toward these various responsibilities the boys and girls showed, in the main, an attitude of passive acceptance. Often they are proud of the contributions they are able to make and the responsibilities they assume.

Rita writes in her schedule, "After school I meet my mother in our store. My parents need me to help them because it is very busy at this time of the year. I made a sale today for $7 and my parents are very proud of me."

Albert B. writes, "Saturday is different for me. Saturday I get up at 3:30 A.M. and go to work at 4:15. I get to my father's bakery at 5:00 A.M. and at 6:00 A.M. I start work. I get finished about 4:00 P.M. delivering bread. Sunday my father and I go to a movie."

Yat Sen writes, "After school I take a subway to work in New York at a newspaper office. I have dinner in New York. After dinner I watch TV. After watching TV I go to bed."

There is an occasional protest. Jacob, whose father is a superintendent in an apartment house, told his teacher in an interview, "I'm tired. You know those big cans are heavy, even when they're empty!"

SELF-CRITICISM TAKES MANY FORMS

When given an opportunity to report the things they criticize in themselves, these children of the intermediate period tell much about themselves. Criticism regarding their physical appearance was voiced by approximately 50 per cent of the group. They are too tall, too short, too small, too fat, too thin. They are "ugly"; they wear glasses; their hair is "too red" or too curly. Often their feelings of inferiority are reinforced by the jests of adults or the baits hurled by cartoonists.

They have little control over many factors in their environment and thus, even in the most privileged homes, the children experience considerable repression which finds expression in hostility both verbal and physical in nature. Second on the list of their faults, as they see them, is fighting. Disobedience is next. As they seek to develop the "ego strengths" which psychiatrists stress, they rebel and disobey. Frequently reproof makes them feel especially guilty about their disobedience.

They criticize the clothes they wear in much the same way that their parents do, but, whereas the adults are critical of untidiness and sloppiness, the children themselves are sensitive to their inability to look attractive. Poor personal habits are also mentioned. In descending order of frequency they report: "getting along with others—especially sharing," "arguing too much," "lack of scholastic achievement," "inability to get along with their brothers and sisters," "showing off," "lack of athletic ability," "being bad," and, finally, "sex-awareness."

OTHER CRITICISMS OF MIDDLE-GRADE CHILDREN

Much of what they decry in themselves they have frequently heard commented upon unfavorably. Their parents criticize many things. Appearance again heads the list; however, appearance is reported only half as frequently by the parents as by the children. They "talk back" and "talk too much"; are "bad," "sloppy," "slow," and "lazy"; watch too much TV; stay up too late; don't take care of their clothing; have poor health habits; and lie. These characteristics hold true in widely different socioeconomic areas, the difference being mainly that of the degree.

In criticizing himself because of his personal habits, a child in

an underprivileged area reports: "My mother yells at me because I rip my pants and don't have them nice for school."

In another, more privileged area, a child reports: "My mother scolds me because I don't change to my play clothes as soon as I come home from school."

Other children, they find, criticize their appearance, their bossiness, their showing off, their fighting, their meanness, their athletic ability, cheating, and, finally, their playing with the opposite sex. Less than 5 per cent of the children reported that no one criticized them. Only 2 per cent found nothing to criticize in themselves. Over 500 children reported self-criticism and the criticism of others in 20 different classes in 6 different schools.

In one school, in a somewhat underprivileged area, the boys and girls were invited to describe the kinds of persons they would like to be. Their feelings of guilt, hostility, rejection, deprivation, inadequacy, and insecurity filter through:

The kind of person I would like to be is an intelligent, kind, pretty person. I do not want to be a tattletale, sore loser, unkind, selfish, and bad. I would like to be a little flower of God. I feel like doing good deeds. I feel that I should try to act like a big girl that always helps her mother. I would like to be married and be a mother. When I get married, I would like to have two children, a boy and a girl. I like to be helpful. I want a boy because I like to dress him up. I want a girl because a boy and girl is a nice family. I would like to be an important person, too. I like school very much. I think that children from 8 to 14 should like school too. I feel that it is very interesting to learn things that you don't know.

. . . .

Well, to tell the truth, I would not like to be anyone I know of. I would like to have a family and a wife and a good job and try to give my family what they need and give them what they want that is in reason. What I like about myself is that I am not mean but I am kind of soft-hearted lots of times. I have little quarrels with my brother Joseph but I take a lot from him because I am older.

The replies of one class to an unfinished story, when analyzed, almost serve as a summary of the feelings of the children in the intermediate-age group.

1. Children of middle-class parents have the feeling that their parents are not satisfied with them, especially in such matters as appearance, getting up in the morning, and going to bed.

2. Children have anxieties about meeting the standards adults set for them.
3. They feel parents verbalize too much.
4. They feel that misbehavior should be punished.
5. They experience problems in their relationships with siblings.

TEACHERS DESCRIBE MIDDLE-GRADE PUPILS

Teachers reported many significant facts about children. In a typical middle-class school, forty-five teachers in various workshop sessions discussed the behavior of the children as they saw it. Fourth-grade teachers commented as follows: "annoys other children," "needs constant reminders about work," "hasn't mastered work habits," "has careless personal habits," "dallies and giggles," "clowns, is outgrowing shyness."

The teachers stress these facts about fourth-grade pupils: Children at this age are particularly interested in manipulative activities. They like dramatic plays (boys as Indians, gang members, and the like; girls, family situations with dolls.) Both sexes love acting. There is a definite interest in making collections. They like to barter, go visiting, and take trips.

Fifth-grade teachers note improvements as well as more serious problems in behavior. They mention careless work habits; that girls have difficulty in sports; that boys and girls enjoy extra jobs set by the teachers; that they ask many questions; that both sexes are becoming very conscious of physical defects; that truancy on the part of predelinquent boys begins; that dependability and responsibility on the parts of boys and girls are emerging.

Sixth-grade teachers describe certain negative traits. According to their teachers, the girls are becoming "fresh"! There is evidence of more serious aggression such as stone-throwing and gang-fighting among the boys. There is "lagging behind." Boys do a lot of "fooling around." Boys are careless about their personal appearance. Both boys and girls are more interested in social studies than in other school subjects. Complaints and concern about personal health increase.

When parents in a workshop were given a chance to discuss the problems they found most difficult to cope with in dealing with their children, they considered the following especially significant: how to apply appropriate punishments; how to discuss a child's

Children find tremendous solace and encouragement from their friends during these trying intermediate years. Friends are of profound encouragement, and children will go to extreme lengths to insure approval from their friends. Sometimes this results in conflict with adult standards. A boy's ability to use his fists may provoke the admiration of other children, but it may also provoke the dismay of his parents and teachers. Further conflict ensues if father advocates his son's "defending himself" at the same time that his mother punishes him for fighting. A bloody nose may earn a purple heart on the sidewalk and a court martial in the home!

Boys and girls are deeply concerned lest they be viewed as "babies" by their companions. This sometimes poses a problem for the teacher who is struggling with a learning disability. A fifth-grade teacher writes, "When I took over the class, I gave Leo books commensurate with his reading ability. He refused the books, 'because the children will make fun of me if they see me reading such a baby book.'" A child who is accustomed to baby ways because of his parents' attitudes is likely to fare badly with his companions who often, with unerring accuracy, pounce upon the evidences of immaturity and hold the child up to a withering barrage of caustic humor or physical abuse.

Families sometimes unwittingly contribute to problems in another way. For example, James:

For the rest of the week James became even more quarrelsome and unco-operative. He answered the teacher back. He came to school at 1:30 or 2:00 in the afternoon and began to play in the afternoon. I notified his mother through his sister Lorraine.

. . . Again James would not come into the classroom. The office was notified that he couldn't be found. The mother was sent for. She put the sister in charge of bringing him to school in the morning and the afternoon. He seldom does anything outside of school without his sister."

Another characteristic of the age group is the desire for elaborately organized activities, probably because they contribute to a feeling of importance. Projects achieve great significance and those responsible for their execution often find it difficult to carry them through because of the standards which they have set. Organization, in truth, becomes "overorganization." In their desire to re-

ceive the adult approval which they so desperately crave, the children often set unrealistic goals.

The latency period sees the beginning of serious behavior problems when normal adjustment fails to take place. Running away and truancy begin to manifest themselves for there is physical adequacy which permits exploration of a wider geographical area than was possible at an early age. Modification of antisocial tendencies is more difficult and apparently requires longer time to accomplish than in the earlier years.

Conclusions about Mental-Health Problems

The mental-health problems of boys and girls of this age group may be summarized:

1. Meeting feelings of inadequacy resulting from their strivings for status which conflict with their incomplete physical development, their emotional maturity, and their social acceptance.
2. Handling feelings of anxiety arising from fear of adult disapproval, coupled with feelings of frustration stemming from their efforts to conform.
3. Adjusting to pressure imposed by sibling and peer-group rivalry.
4. Accepting physical limitations. Girls, and boys as well, tend to look upon themselves as physically unattractive; their efforts to compensate for their dissatisfaction sometimes leads to psychological difficulties.
5. Adjusting to feelings of rejection which are engendered by the demands placed upon them by adults for completion of chores, meeting work standards, and "growing up," which they interpret "if they really loved me, they would not make these demands of me."

What the Classroom Teacher Can Do

OBSERVATION AND INQUIRY

There are many important things that the classroom teacher can do to help these children of the intermediate years. Basic to practice is, of course, knowledge and understanding of these children. Many devices suggested in the preceding discussion may be used profitably by teachers: the unfinished story; the time schedule; compositions on such topics as "Why I Get Mad," "What I Criticize About Myself," "What Others Criticize About Me," and the like; role-playing; puppets; the autobiography; sociometric techniques. It should be kept in mind that the two most valuable techniques are

observation and the interview. The former, when accompanied by careful anecdotal reporting, will yield important evidence of trends, relationships, and motivations as well as serve to raise questions and reveal areas in need of further investigation. Occasionally a teacher may choose to use a questionnaire to study the various members of the class. Some of the questions which might be utilized include:

My best friend in this class is . . . .
If I could, I would like to have as my best friend in this class . . . .
The game my friends and I like best to play is . . . .
Our favorite place of play is . . . .
The person in my family that I like best is . . . .
The grown-up not in my family that I like best is . . . .
The school subject I like best is . . . .
What I like best about school is . . . .
I have (none—some—many) fears. I am afraid of . . . .
Do you feel that your parents expect too much of you? . . . .
My hobby is . . . .

Teachers will find too that patterns of conduct are evident in the group situation of the classroom. In some classes almost every child will be attending religious instruction before or after school each day; in others, music, dancing, or art lessons will be consuming large portions of time. Absence of parental supervision may be encouraging late hours, poor recreation, or gang activities. These activities may be reflected in tensions, weariness, poor attendance, or lowered vitality.

Time schedules will yield similar information. Barbara emerges as a very well-behaved little girl. Her teacher might wonder whether she is striving too hard to please and directing an undue amount of her energies toward conforming:

7:00 Get out of bed. Make up mine and sister's bed. Get dressed; help dress brother and sister.
7:30 Get books together, and other things. Go to store for mother. Eat breakfast.
8:00 See that sister and brother are ready.
8:15 Read book, see that homework is finished.
8:30 Leave for school.
12:00 We are let out of school for lunch. I wait for brother and sister. Take them home.
12:15 Wash face and hands. Eat lunch. Talk to mother, tell her how I did in school.

12:30 Go back to school.
 3:00 We are let out of school at 3:00. My day is coming to an end. Wait for sister. Take her home.
 3:10 Get home. Change clothes. Go to store for mother.
 3:30 Go to library to look up reports.
 5:00 Come home. Get washed up. Eat dinner.
 6:00 Watch T.V.
 8:30 Get clothes out for school in the morning.
 9:00 Comb hair. Get sister's and brother's clothes. Polish shoes. Wait for my father to come home from work.
 9:30 My father comes home from work. Talk to him. Kiss him good night and go to bed.
       As you can see, school children as well as grownups have a very busy day. I welcome the time to go to bed.

In their descriptions of their families, children frequently let feelings come through. There is George who told his teacher:

I live in seven rooms. When I go late to my house they take me and hit me and put me to bed. I don't like my father because he hits me too much. I don't like my mother because she screams too much. I don't like my sister because she is always crying. I don't like my brother because he is always hurting me. I like my family because they give me money. When company comes to my house, my brother always thinks he is so pretty. . . .

An unfinished story, such as the following one, gives a teacher clues to factors in the children's environment which affect their attitude:

I am going to tell you a story about Johnny. Johnny is 8 going on 9. The morning this story began, Johnny was fast asleep in bed. He had been up late the night before. He felt some one waking him. He wanted to say "Go away let me sleep." Instead he rubbed his eyes, yawned, and asked, "What time is it?"
His momma said, "It's time to get up."
"Do I have to?" he asked.
"Hurry, you'll be late for school."
Very slowly Johnny put one foot off the bed, then the other. His feet were cold. He looked around for his slippers.
Where do you think they were?
Johnny put on his slippers. Then he went to the bathroom. He took care of his wants. Then he turned on the water in the basin and let it drip over his fingers, then he washed the tip of his nose. He picked up the towel and dried himself.

When he came out of the bathroom his mother said, "Johnny get washed up."

"But I did," said Johnny.

"I don't call that washing," said his mother.

What could Johnny do? He went back into the bathroom. This time he put the stopper in the basin. He threw his washcloth into the basin. It was a blue one. He lifted it up and the water dripped down. He rubbed soap on the washcloth. Then he washed his hands. He looked out. Why?

Then he washed his arms. He scrubbed his face. When he came to his ears, he hesitated. Why?

When he washed the back of his neck he squirmed. Why?

What else did Johnny do?

Johnny left the bathroom and went into the bedroom. He took off his pajamas, put on his underwear, his trousers, socks and shoes, then he put on his shirt.

What did his mother say when she saw him?

Johnny went into the dinette. The table was set. Johnny walked up to the table and said, "I'm not hungry." Why?

What did his mother say when Johnny said, "I'm not hungry."

What did Johnny do?

Johnny's mother's eyes began to look up. What was she looking at? Why?

What did Johnny do?

Children's motivations are exceedingly complex and at times many of the problems of learning and of behavior which are manifested find their basis in children's efforts to cope with the pressures of the latency period: to conform, to win adult approval, to be accepted by their friends.

Case studies of children of average or better intelligence who are retarded in reading often provide the teacher with valuable information. Teachers need to utilize every available resource to understand the complex involvements of feelings that affect child behavior.

Floyd is a boy for whom danger is always inherent in a situation whether or not it is immediately apparent. Since he also feels pushed to achieve in areas evidently prescribed by others, the combination of factors has resulted in his using a great deal of energy to protect himself from these directions rather than toward efforts which would be productive of growth and advancement of his own interests. Obviously an artistically gifted boy with generally good potentials, Floyd is deterred from real accomplishment by not being able to respond to situations

and people according to his own standards and understanding. He is a very sensitive youngster who uses his sensitivity not to enrich but to protect himself. His potential is severely diminished because of the enforced strivings which sit in such tyranny over him.

.   .   .   .

Virginia Ruth is, even at this age, already concerned with the role she will play as an adult. She seems to have, in fantasy, skipped the period of school and foregone any idea of accomplishment as the result of her own efforts. It is very much more important for her to see herself performing for others in fairy-tale Hollywood fashion.

.   .   .   .

Ronald would appear to be a boy of somewhat better than average intelligence who has a great deal of energy for which he does not get sufficient outlet. It appears that he has not got much affection or attention at home but only pressure to do what is "right." He, therefore, feels neglected and forced into doing things he does not like. He has come to feel that the only way he can safely get some satisfaction is to obey all the rules (while "sneaking" some forbidden activity on the side). His poor experience with warm relationships at home has made it difficult for him to make friends and adds to his feelings of emotional deprivation. Even more, he feels abandoned and helpless, so that he constantly looks for danger or threats of danger against which he must protect himself. This shifting of aims to safety as a goal has interfered with his ability to apply himself to academic pursuits since the former is so much more pressingly important to him.

Occasionally teachers may be helped to come closer to the feelings of the children by searching their own memories of classroom experiences during this period. Recently thirty-four teachers in a workshop recorded their recollections of their school experiences in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Only 30 per cent of them had pleasant recollections. Excerpts from their manuscripts highlight some of their experiences, both pleasant and unpleasant:

In fifth year I had a teacher who was intensely interested in nature. She took our class on the only trip I experienced, to a neighboring pond where we saw at first hand some of the wild flowers we had been studying from books.

.   .   .   .

I remember my wearing eyeglasses for the first time to sixth-grade class. The teacher was unsympathetic in general, and I did not feel that she liked me. She made a simple, innocent remark about glasses. I had been hoping since entering the room that she would not say anything

at all. I had wanted to ignore them. I burst into tears at the remark, although there was really nothing in it to cause tears.

.   .   .   .

I particularly remember my fifth-year teacher because I loved and worshipped her greatly. She unfortunately had made me her class pet, and consequently the rest of the class didn't like me. I had always been an excellent speller and always received 100 on a test and won every spelling bee. On this day we had a spelling bee and I was given the word, *Abraham;* I spelled the word correctly, but neglected to say, "Capital A." The class immediately wanted me to be disqualified, but the teacher insisted I should remain in the bee because she had not yet officially given the word to begin the bee. The class argued with her for a full half-hour. I begged the teacher to let me sit down, but she wouldn't let me. I went home miserable.

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I remember falling. I had just got out of bed where I had been confined for several months with rheumatic fever. I was shaky, had gained lots of weight and grown plump. My teacher, who had the cardiac class and should have known better, asked if I had left a hole in the floor. I think I cried.

.   .   .   .

I asked to leave the room. Permission was refused. The inevitable happened. I was so ashamed, I ran home. Mother spanked me, changed me, and sent me back to school. The teacher greeted me with, "You shameful child! Now sit down and write, 'I will not do it again.'"

.   .   .   .

It was my birthday, March 21. When class began, the teacher asked if anyone knew what day it was. I shouted 'My birthday.' Miss X said, "What a lovely day for a birthday! You came with the birds and the flowers." I was so pleased I never forgot!

.   .   .   .

The child behind me drew a dancing doll and threw it on my desk. The teacher asked me what I had and I gave it to her. She accused me of drawing it during the lesson. My punishment was to draw one hundred of them, or stay home from a trip to the zoo. I had to get my brother's help, but I brought in the drawings. I didn't want to miss the trip. I felt she was an awful teacher.

.   .   .   .

I can remember with pleasure the fun of putting on an operetta in which I had a lead part.

HELPING PUPILS MEET PROBLEM SITUATIONS

Arturo's teacher showed remarkable maturity in understanding his feelings. After she had found that on several occasions he had taken money that didn't belong to him she notes: "After the incidents of taking the money, Arturo felt very guilty even though the rest of the class didn't know about it. He was ashamed because I knew, so I made him monitor of collecting milk money and taking it to the teacher in charge. This has worked very satisfactorily in showing him I still like him and trust him."

Teachers are in an extremely important position to provide supportive help to children who are having a difficult time adjusting. Richard's teacher describes the simple things that can contribute immeasurably to a child's ultimate adjustment.

During the entertainment hour, inaugurated primarily for the release of pent-up emotions in the children, Richard acted as master of ceremonies, sang, and gave imitations. Every opportunity was given to him in order to enable him to satisfy his craving for the spotlight. Special care was taken to praise everything that Richard did that was of a conforming nature.

His outbursts were met with a quiet, matter-of-fact approach in order to determine the immediate cause for the outburst. Many incidents were overlooked whenever possible in order to create a mood wherein he was praised and given a great deal of attention. This has worked to some degree so that now his outbursts have reduced considerably. When he did get into a little difficulty, he would quietly talk it over with the teacher and if he was wrong, would apologize to the offended pupil.

James' teacher analyzed his needs and then established appropriate procedures for helping him meet them.

James came from his previous school with a poor record of deportment, attendance, and scholarship. He showed little or no interest in school work. He was impertinent, defiant, and resentful of all suggestions and constructive criticisms given for improvement in his deficiencies.

In an effort to help James, I outlined for myself a procedure that I have rigidly adhered to in so far as varying circumstances warranted: Expressions of affection, and an interest in his boyish activities; an appeal to his better sense of right and wrong when he was in error; a bolstering up of his power of achievement when assigned to a given problem, notwithstanding the fact his solution may have been a complete

failure; recognizing only the successful efforts and overlooking the failures. This sense of accomplishment spurred him on to greater efforts when the next occasion for similar assignments arose. He slowly and gradually became aware of the dignity of his personal individuality and especially so in his relationship with other pupils in the class. Fights and profanity became less and less frequent, and his class adjustment became almost normal.

The variety of things that a classroom teacher can do to help alleviate problems are illustrated by Philip's case. This teacher found that health, economic need, and social deprivations were involved in the reading problem. Philip's teacher arranged: (*a*) for an examination by the doctor; (*b*) for free lunch; (*c*) to have the nurse plan a visit for the boy to the dental clinic; (*d*) for him to play at the Boy's Club; (*e*) for him to develop his athletic ability by swimming at a near-by pool; (*f*) for remedial help in the classroom; (*g*) for classroom assignments which would give him a sense of responsibility and status; (*h*) for group activities in the classroom; (*i*) for the nurse to make a home visit; and (*j*) for a conference with the guidance counselor to discuss his needs. The teacher tried also to supply praise for all work and effort; he tried to be just and friendly within the classroom situation and encouraged others to help Philip in work and play.

In a fifth-year class, an eleven-year-old boy was a late entrant and very quickly the class discovered that he read on a first-year level. Just preceding the lunch-hour recess one of the girls said in a loud aside to him, "You're a dope; you don't even know how to read." This was the proverbial red flag and the boy struck wildly at her. The teacher separated the children and sent the boy, Charles, to the office "for striking a girl."

That afternoon the boy came to school very reluctantly but was pleased when the teacher told him that he could work in the office. With Charles out of the room, the class discussed: (*a*) how it feels to be a new pupil in a new school; (*b*) how it feels not to be able to read, even though you want very much to read; (*c*) some of the reasons why children may reach the fifth year and not be able to read.

"Let's act out being a new child and then we'll talk about it afterwards. Who would like to be the new child?"

Interestingly enough it was Jane, the girl who had taunted Charles, who asked to play that role. The roles of four classmates were decided upon. The children were instructed that they were to act out the role exactly as they chose, either admitting the late entrant or not, depending upon themselves for resolutions. The performers were given a few minutes to discuss the scene, and then the sociodrama unfolded.

Jane asked the players who pretended to be playing ball whether she might join their play group. She was aggressive and hostile in her attitude and the group refused to allow her to join them. They continued playing, and Jane then became extremely angry, stamped her feet, raised her voice, and insisted that they allow her to join them. Then Tommy, who became spokesman for the group said, "No one wants you to be in this play group. That's not the way to try to become friends. You're too fresh!"

Jane immediately changed her tone of voice and asked in a more modulated voice to be admitted to the group. She was accepted. At this time the teacher stopped the dramatization.

When Jane was asked how she felt when she had been rejected, tears came to her eyes and she was barely able to verbalize, "I felt like crying." Each of the participants discussed how he felt, his reactions, and afterwards the audience gave voice to their feelings. The teacher asked whether another group of children might like to portray another way of handling the same situation.

This time the situation was handled positively by the children. Then the performers discussed their feelings. The teacher led the group in a discussion of ways of handling similar situations as well as the specific situation of the morning.

The foregoing examples reveal some desirable effects obtained by teachers who are willing to withhold judgment and inquire into causes; who are creative in providing opportunities for children to express their feelings and are able to help them face these feelings; who, in spite of financial pressures, personal problems, and other factors, have retained their own mental health.

What the Parent Can Do To Help

Many parents today are gravely concerned about their ability to be good parents. Although books about the development of

children have made parents better acquainted with the needs and behavior of children, they have also induced in some parents disapproval of themselves, inconsistency in handling their children, or overzealousness to meet the standards set forth in such volumes. There is a real need for parents to maintain a balanced point of view. Parent workshops organized in schools by child study associations, religious centers, and similar organizations may help parents express their concerns, develop objectivity about their problems, and provide suggestions for positive practices in bringing up children.

When parents of the intermediate-age group are given an opportunity in workshop sessions to indicate the sources of their greatest worries about their children, they mention: learning-activities and fears that their children will not measure up to grade standards; relationships with other children and variance in standards of behavior; pressure to conform to the patterns of group behavior; poor personal habits; and discrepancies between behavior patterns in school and at home. They find difficulty, too, in establishing standards regarding behavior, moral values, and cultural interests. Often the opportunity to discuss these things with other parents helps to establish perspective and to suggest methods of achieving desirable results. Parents, when encouraged to think about the things they enjoy most about their nine-, ten-, eleven-, and twelve-year-old children discover many satisfactions: their bustling activity, their spirit of helpfulness, their companionship, their successes in school, their fun with friends, their alert inquisitiveness about practical things and the world about them, and their affectionate concern.

Because these children of the intermediate years have feelings of inadequacy and feel criticism keenly, it is important to concentrate as far as possible on positive elements. There is need, too, for patient anticipation of certain social and personal developments. Not all children progress at the same rate; some, for example, may find the group experiences of this period difficult to handle. A parent will be wise not to exert undue pressures on his child but will accept the child where he is. He can then, by judicious counsel and by working closely with the school, help his child to adjust better and to achieve a greater degree of mental health. By patient attempts to understand children and by efforts to meet their indi-

vidual needs, the parent, like the teacher, can do much to alleviate
both minor and serious problems as they arise in the lives of middle-
grade children.

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Mental-Health Practices in the High-School Grades

LOU LABRANT

Social Adjustment Problems of Youth

Previous chapters having covered the need for the services of specialists and the general roles of home, school, and community, any discussion of the mental-health problems and practices of a given segment of the school must be limited to problems peculiar to the given age level, to methods and forms of organization which are peculiarly appropriate to that level. We might start this chapter by inquiring whether there are factors threatening mental health which arise at adolescence, problems which call for curriculum and organizational adjustment. After considering this question, we should attempt to find implications as to which principles and practices appear essential in the curriculum and organization of our high schools in order to promote and preserve mental health.

If one accepts statements about adolescence as a difficult age and recognizes a multiplicity of adolescent problems, he will doubtless acknowledge the significance of attempts to foster mental health during this period. Although some investigators might question whether any age is, *per se*, especially critical, it appears that in a given society certain periods show more stress or conflict with the existing patterns of that society than do other periods. These periods of stress are related to natural stages in human development or age as well as to the effect of specific demands of society, demands which may be at variance with biological processes. When such stresses appear at the adolescent level, we speak of them as "adolescent problems." Examples of these problems include the stresses associated with the pupil's awareness of his own sexual maturity and his need for choosing a vocation.

EARLY TEENS: LACK OF SOCIAL ROLE

The early adolescent (junior high school ages) is often very uncertain of his own status, and his parents are equally uncertain. It is at this period that the youngster begins to consider himself "grown up." For many this is the age of beginning puberty. Clothing resembles that of adults more than that of children. Fares at theatres and on trains are adult. There are, however, still library restrictions (very irritating to the girl who wants adult romance) and prohibitions at certain picture shows (where "accompanied by an adult" seems almost an insult). The under-sixteen may not drive a car. Opportunities for earning spending money are limited, while needs for spending are increasing. One has only to look at a junior high school crowd as it emerges from the school building at three o'clock to be impressed by the diversified clothing and the mixtures of child-adult behavior.

The confusions of the young adolescent are increased by the fact that today there is little he can do except go to school. Although he abounds in energy, he finds few duties in today's urban life, a situation greatly in contrast to that his grandfather experienced. Hence loafing, idle watching of television, desultory attempts at games, and similar behaviors are typical. The drugstore or restaurant is an easy excuse for fruitless gatherings. The country over, the large body of thousands of early adolescents is thrown on its own from three in the afternoon till dinner time and, in many cases, again in the evening. Where in some cases teen-age clubs, dating, dances, and sports take up time for the older adolescent, the junior high school student has almost nothing to engage his energy and brain. For a few there are lessons in dancing, riding, and music; but for most of our children these are unavailable.

PHYSICAL GROWTH

The literature on physical growth indicates two characteristics of preadolescents which are related to mental health because they have a direct bearing on the social adjustment, home relations, and school work of this age group. These characteristics are: a differentiation between the patterns of growth for boys and for girls; and a marked growth spurt for both.

Parents and teachers who have watched youngsters in the ele-

mentary and intermediate school and have seen these boys and girls develop at what, in retrospect, may seem to have been a fairly uniform rate, often are not prepared for changes which occur during preadolescence. Not infrequently parents comment that it is difficult to understand how a child who did well under Miss X in the sixth grade has become a problem in the seventh or eighth grade, and Miss X wonders what succeeding teachers have done to her quiet, well-organized group. Disappointment, confusion, and irritation on the part of parents often add to the child's difficulty, and this may be the case with the youngster who has previously satisfied parental ambition completely. Let us look briefly at some relevant facts.

George W. Gray, reporting the Denver study project in a recent issue of *Scientific American*,[1] calls attention to the findings of the Child Research Council. Describing growth, he says:

Actually two curves are necessary: one, known as the Rachel Jens curve, represents growth from birth to the beginning of adolescence; the other, an elongated "S" called the Gompertz curve, covers the period of adolescence. The Rachel Jens curve is fairly uniform for both boys and girls. But the Gompertz curve of adolescent growth is markedly different for the two sexes. In girls, the curve begins to bend upward into the first arm of the S at an earlier age and at a more rapid rate of ascent than in boys. But while the typical boy's curve starts later, and turns upward more slowly, it keeps ascending long after the typical girl's curve has leveled off.

He continues, quoting Dr. Deming of that staff:

We are all familiar with the fact that in junior high school the typical girl is much larger and more grown up than the typical boy of the same age. She's not interested in dates with these small boys; she wants to go with the older boys.

We may examine the effects of this growth spurt on the high-school student's adjustment. Obviously, although general trends are discoverable if all boys and all girls are studied, the change in any one individual is not predictable; it is also obvious that a considerable number will develop earlier or later than the average group. For these irregulars, the situation may be difficult. Our

[1] George W. Gray, "Human Growth," *Scientific American*, CLXXXIX (October, 1953), 70.

school and social organization is very tight, stressing age rather than achievement or growth groups. Ninth-grade girls are usually fourteen and fifteen years old; their dress is fairly well standardized, their ideas of beauty largely set by the Hollywood actresses. While a large number of girls can approximate these ideals at least to their own satisfaction, the girl who is less mature, who is overweight, or who has grown rapidly before her classmates have taken a spurt, finds herself outclassed in matters which seem to her highly important. On the other hand, the girl who reaches puberty in advance of her grade is likely to be considered bold, silly, boy-struck, or otherwise undesirable by the adults around her. She may, however, be regarded as highly superior by her classmates and may capitalize a maturity which is merely a matter of physical development. In very large schools, where acquaintance is limited to the student's own grade, a noticeable peculiarity such as a marked change in height or weight may cause either unhappiness or a sense of great superiority. One point for teachers and parents to consider is that rigidity of organization is certain to come into conflict with the growth pattern of a considerable number of adolescents.

Boys, of course, have their growth difficulties also. In those schools where physical-education classes are organized according to grade age, the undersized and the precociously developed are both misfits, the one sometimes scorned and the other lionized. The writer recalls a fourteen-year-old boy, height six feet, utterly miserable in a class of ninth-grade boys in which he was conspicuously tall. His work became disorganized, almost failing, although he was bright. Placed with another class where he was matched by two or three others, he settled down to normal, comfortable study. Before this change was made, however, his conduct and achievement became so noticeable and disagreeable that teacher and parents became alarmed.

In a society which leaves understanding of sex development largely to chance, both boys and girls often suffer from their own and our misinterpretation of growth and development. In contrast to the general pattern of the sexes, we tend to approve of the girl whose development is slow, while we show pride in the advanced development of a boy. The average teacher is not trained in analyzing sex problems but certainly needs to be aware that these ques-

tions, fears, experiments, and contradictions exist. Secret gangs, pilfered goods, and similar evidences of maladjustment are too frequently diagnosed and treated as "dishonest behavior" when they are merely evidence that the youngsters are trying to find some way of proving adulthood and independence.

We have far too few data indicating psychological growth curves. The Denver study [2] confirms what has often been pointed out in studies of special abilities, such as reading, that there is some degree of correlation between physical growth and mental ability. Dr. Gray reports that ". . . there is another dip at adolescence, when many youngsters fall back" in their I.Q. ratings. Whatever the ultimate discovery about the I.Q. and its changes, it seems certain that unusually rapid growth, change in glandular balance, and resulting sense of nearing adulthood must affect the ability of the individual child to concentrate on school work. We should at least be prepared for irregular performance on the part of many students during these years. This is perhaps the place to point out how easy it is for a teacher to misjudge the student whom he knows only during a semester or even one year during which the adolescent is changing rapidly. Without perspective, the teacher may seriously misjudge the youngster.

Differences between the sexes in general development cause many complications which can result in serious irritations. Social events planned for a grade may result in what seems like uncooperative behavior by the boys. Girls are ready to dance and date at a younger age than boys. Conflict is almost sure to occur over parties and behavior at parties when these are arranged by grade or age levels. Insistence on conformity—required attendance and participation—puts one or the other group into an unhappy role.

In classrooms, sex differences may also result in unfortunate comparisons. Parents often point to the girl's interest in English and reading, unmindful of the fact that the rather romantic material in most English literature courses is often enjoyed by girls while it seems silly to the less mature boys. It is probable, also, that the earlier physical maturity of girls gives them an advantage with handwriting, and that consequently they tend to receive higher marks on papers which call for neat and legible writing. It is un-

[2] *Idem.*, p. 74.

wise to make comparisons, one way or the other, without giving thought to possible sex differences and their effect on school achievement.

CONFLICTING STANDARDS

A number of factors tend to make life complicated and conflicting in its suggestions to the adolescent. As a people, we believe in the importance of self-direction, the making of personal decisions. That these decisions are sometimes difficult, and that in making them the young person must weigh many values is not unfortunate. It can happen, however, that the problems are too difficult for many youth and that decisions which are not in themselves very important seem so to the adolescent and cause him anxiety and sometimes a sense of guilt.

As was pointed out previously, the adolescent often seems to himself to be adult before he is so acknowledged by adults. For example, he may drive a powerful car, be required to pay full fare for travel, read whatever he selects (in so far as freedom to buy or to check out from a library is concerned), see picture shows with adult situations, and so forth, although he is still required by law to attend school. In many families he may at the same time be denied a key to the front door and have to report on his return in the evening; he may even need permission to attend the social events of his group. Some parents hold close supervision over the friends a boy or girl may bring to the home or may visit. Girls may not always choose their escorts to parties or theater. Again, this is not a plea for complete and unrestrained freedom but is merely an attempt to indicate contrasts in the role of the adolescent, contrasts which may confuse him and make decisions difficult. In brief, making decisions in terms of all the factors may turn up contradictions which are pretty difficult to rationalize. He finds himself expected to behave as a grown-up one minute and as a child the next.

The adolescent age is the one where individuals, as they begin to play an adult role, must identify (if their development is healthful) with their own sex. A recent article points out that our culture may offer more difficulties to the adolescent girl than to the boy. There is some evidence to confirm this statement:

That the societal code has mandated the girl to take on a feminine sex role yet at the same time has placed restrictions that make it difficult for her to do so has created discrepant behavior and has made the inner acceptance of her sex role more frustrating and complex for the adolescent girl.[3]

Whether or not the girl has a more difficult adjustment than the boy, the dilemma she faces is one of her sources of tension. For both boy and girl there is need for a strong model, a man or woman with whom to identify. Such a model is lacking in many homes and for many adolescents.

Prolonged adolescence and later marriages, for another example, may be considered. The young girl's clothing which is like her mother's, even to make-up, earrings, and other insignia of adulthood suggests the woman's role she is not allowed to play. Moreover, thus dressed, she is sent to a co-educational school, where she sits in classes with young men and discusses with them common problems and interests. For boys, also, there is a contradiction, though perhaps less acute. Not only do petting and other boy-girl problems become acute, but society as a whole is unclear about its code so that the youngster cannot turn to generally accepted standards for guidance or support. It might be noted that only recently have even colleges decided to permit marriage among their students. Prior to the recent war, a student who married before finishing his college course was usually asked to leave.

Mingling of all classes in the American high school, while wholesome and democratic, makes for less adult control and more adolescent difficulties than in a clearly stratified society. During early childhood, parents have considerable control over their children's visits to other homes, for small children must be transported to the homes of their friends or those friends must be in a near neighborhood. School parties are carefully supervised and usually held during the afternoon. At high-school age, however, students are old enough to use public transportation and, in the later years, to drive cars themselves. School dances are held at night and, although supervised, are certainly not closely chaperoned in most cases. Drugstores, picture shows, and restaurants are meeting places for after-school groups. Parents cannot always know the parents of

[3] Aileen Schoeppe, "Sex Differences in Adolescent Socializations," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXVIII (November, 1953), 182.

their children's friends nor even the friends themselves. Adult influence is, thus, rather suddenly scattered, adolescents spending time in the homes of persons whose standards differ greatly. There is a breaking-down of parental control, either direct or indirect, and a loss of class standards. Teachers, themselves drawn from all classes, do not represent any fixed body of behavior, although ready-made clothing and other mass production lessen the appearance of differences. There is consequently bound to be, in the high school, a reappraisal of home standards and often a rejection of them.

UNRELATED LEARNING

While it may seem extreme to accuse the schools of setting up situations adverse to mental health, certain practices may increase tensions already developing.

Generally, we accept the thesis that logic-tight compartments of thought are not wholesome, and we recognize that tensions may arise when known or believed "facts" seem contradictory. Increasingly, as school life goes on, the student is introduced to new areas of human learning and is expected to relate these to previous experiences. Many secondary schools offer courses which, to the young learner, seem unrelated. To him, some courses—history and science, for example—may seem or may actually be in conflict with his religion or his moral code. Schools and teachers may vary greatly in their skill or desire to see that new learnings are related to old and that clear concepts are developed. Frequently an array of unrelated courses is suddenly thrust upon the student.

During the elementary- and intermediate-school years, one teacher presents the various subjects. Although this teacher may lack breadth, he does represent, in general, a coherent point of view. Even without considering the theoretical values of relating experience, he is practically certain to relate what was talked about at nine o'clock to what is discussed at two o'clock. There is, moreover, opportunity for the pupil to ask questions, since he and the teacher have had a day's work together and lengthy explanations as to what is meant are unnecessary. In many high schools, however, the student, to whom the events of the history class appear to contradict the ideas of the science teacher, has little opportunity for talking out the confusion. Worse still, he may, through the

separation of the two courses, even fail to think of relating or contrasting the materials and may develop contradictory areas of thinking within his own mind.

A minor phase of the foregoing sources of confusion lies in shifting standards: One teacher accepts careless work without comment; another sets up rigid rules for form. Such variations in standards, when not accompanied by some clear policy which explains them, are frustrating, may contradict emphasis on self-discipline, and may destroy a personal philosophy. No school should absolve the student from self-direction and choice. The point here is that sometimes he has little encouragement to select wisely and is merely bewildered by the conflicting authorities which bear upon him.

VOCATIONAL CHOICE

Many adolescents make at least a preliminary choice of vocations. Problems which result in frustration and sometimes long periods of maladjustment may come at this age. These problems include the following:

1. Necessity of choosing vocational course before student is sufficiently mature. Often he feels guilty if growth or changed circumstances make him give up the initial choice.
2. Difficulty of making vocational choice, even with superior guidance, during a period of rapid and dramatic change.
3. Unwillingness, in our times, of accepting a nonprofessional role.
4. Embarrassment from coupling trade education with special schools, which, in the minds of some students, carry the opprobrium of low status.
5. Conflict between parental pressure, aiming at a profession or white-collar job, and native ability or interest. The American myth, that the whole population is in line for the presidency, and the idea encouraged by educators for generations, that an education is a valuable means to economic achievement, have combined to make vocational aims and probable achievement somewhat in contrast. There obviously has to be some halt to the belief that "my son must have a better job than I had" if by "better job" is meant one open only to the superior. Slogans which applied in an age when education was a special privilege are false when applied in an age of universal education. While this is true of education as a whole, from kindergarten through graduate school, the adolescent years are probably the critical ones since, during high school, either a whole curriculum or at least special courses are often chosen in terms of future vocation.

LACK OF ADULT FRIENDSHIPS

The teacher usually offers the first step to independence. As the child breaks away from dependence upon parents, the teacher receives his confidence and becomes a temporary parent, gradually giving way to other adult friends and the peer group. In a former society, where the rural or village life provided the adolescent with many chances to meet a varied group of adults, the role of the teacher was probably less critical. In our day, however, where urban life prevents easy access to family friends, to the shopkeeper, the minister, the neighborhood, it is important that the school offer a constant adult support. Here again, however, there may be difficulty because of the structure of our high-school curriculum.

Courses, for example, may be elected from semester to semester, and the teacher may change as frequently. Even electing a given subject for a year may not guarantee continuity of instructor, and in many situations a year is the maximum period for a pupil-teacher relationship. Moreover, large classes and complicated schedules prevent any but classroom conferences, which may not be sufficiently private. In many city schools the teachers leave with the last bell, and after-school loitering on the part of pupils is discouraged.

It may thus occur that the student who is learning to be independent of his parents, as he should be, finds himself with only juvenile confidants. The situation is dramatized when one thinks of former village life with its many youth-adult relationships and the schoolmaster who once had an integral role in the community life and, hence, offered constant security to many young people.

MILITARY SERVICE

Recent years have seen young men and, to an extent, young girls affected by the prospect of military service. If this were fixed and certain, probably it would be less disconcerting. The possibility of deferment, however, and the uncertainty as to whether or not service will be active, coupled with the possibilities for training and their vocational value, all add up to great confusion in the minds of youth. If military service is to interrupt college, would it be best to wait and take all of higher education after army experience, or would it be best to hurry and get in as much as possible of the college training and, hence, avoid undue delay in getting at the

business of life? These questions are enormously complicated by the uncertainty of what the individual's status is to be and when he can expect to be called up. At a time when he needs to think and plan clearly, he is unable to depend upon the future at all. Whether or not the matter of military service could be clarified is not the question here; the point here is that young men today, at an age when they are naturally exploring and are uncertain, are having their uncertainty increased by a national situation over which they have no control.

WORLD FEARS

As the youngster reaches adolescence he rather abruptly begins to study world problems in history, science, and literature. Even if he has approached these problems gradually, they become vivid at this time. In an age when adults who have had their youth in a relatively stable and assured age are confused and fearful, it is not strange that adolescents take confusion and fear as normal. These areas of feeling and thinking cannot work toward stability and courage in making choices of immediate behavior or future life-work. Girls, who at adolescence are thinking of marriage, although most of them know it will be deferred, are frustrated by the uncertainties facing the boys. Erratic behavior is easy to foresee.

INTENSIFICATION OF EARLY PROBLEMS

This chapter has, thus far, discussed factors in human growth and in our society which disturb the adolescent and give him need for special guidance if he is to maintain mental health.

Another aspect of adolescent development must be examined: the coming into the foreground at this age of problems which have been disturbing him earlier. Until the high-school years, we adults are likely to overlook or to be optimistic about many forms of abnormal behavior. The child is small enough to be managed physically, and the forms which his rebellion takes are less disturbing; but with adolescence, when he begins to use adult machines and adult patterns of behavior, we become seriously alarmed when he strikes out at society. Thus, so-called "juvenile delinquency" may have its roots in infancy, be influenced by factors

such as broken homes, neglect, overindulgence, and various forms of repressed antagonisms, but when at adolescence the youngster steals, joins gangs, uses alcohol or drugs, smashes cars, or resorts to other objectionable ways of behaving, we begin to make records and count cases. The courts are concerned, particularly if property or life is endangered, and the country notes as "juvenile" an enormous list of offenders.

Consideration should be given to the fact that, added to what we may think of as sources of adolescent conflicts, the deep-seated maladjustments stemming from infancy and early childhood are now becoming intensified by new demands and confusions. This is also probably the place to mention that high-school studies increasingly show up lack of skills in the student who is weak in what we term "fundamentals." He may thus be faced with a feeling of failure, at the very age when he normally needs to identify himself with a successful, adult sex group.

Evidences of Maladjustment

Difficult as are the adjustments our society asks of adolescents, it is apparent to any student of the problem that many healthy, strong individuals make these adjustments unless circumstances are most unusual. Consequently, it is absurd to suggest that, since all adolescents in our society have problems, all are seriously disturbed or in need of clinical guidance. On the other hand, we certainly need a healthy climate for all youth and immediate, skilled assistance for many. Evidence of the critical situation lies in such estimates as that of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which reported that for 1950 probably more than one million youth came to the attention of the police for misbehaving.[6] Perhaps a few of these young people were merely exhibiting healthy resistance to social pressures. Undoubtedly, most of them could be classed as making unhealthy adjustments and as suffering from conflicts so dangerous as to point toward later serious personal maladjustment. Persistent truancy, running away, drinking, use of drugs, sex offenses, automobile theft, burglary, larceny, and robbery are not minor symptoms.

[6] *Some Facts about Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 1. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Publication 340. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953.

Certainly we are concerned also with those who, while not only at war with society, are still confused, frustrated, uncertain. If as many as one million are so obviously in need of guidance and therapy as to be classed "delinquent," another group much larger may be assumed to be making almost equally unhealthy but less disturbing adjustments.

What the Schools Should Do

ALL-SCHOOL EFFORTS

It should be obvious from the brief statements of the extent of our maladjustments, and of some of the more obvious sources of conflict in adolescents, that the secondary schools must, through special staff and through both curriculum and methods, safeguard the mental health of their students. No one can say how many of those who reach the courts, how many of those who are almost as serious problems, and how many of those who appear well adjusted need the aid of specialists. Probably many more than we think would profit from such help. Unfortunately, few reach our clinics and psychologists until they are involved in some overt difficulty, at which time assistance is either very difficult or even too late. We have too long acted as though youngsters could manage as simply in our complex, adult-fashioned, tense society as they once could in a simpler, more natural, and more relaxed scene. It is no more strange that children today need psychological protection than it is that they need safety zones for crossing the street or fire escapes on their school buildings.

It is probable that the widespread appearance of "delinquency," a form of maladjustment which involves the courts and officers of the law, including truancy officers, has focused attention on mental health. It is, however, a problem far wider than that and involves all phases of mental illness. The school, therefore, which focuses on delinquency is merely looking at acute symptoms and not at what is likely to be a broadly unwholesome situation. Recently the National Education Association has brought out a pamphlet, *Schools Help Prevent Delinquency*,[7] reporting efforts made by a number

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[7] *Schools Help Prevent Delinquency.* Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XXXI, No. 3. Washington: Research Division of the National Education Association, 1953.

of cities seriously concerned with problem-youth. The bulletin reports on the programs of child guidance clinics, churches, recreation agencies, community co-ordinating councils, and youth councils. Many of these programs are excellent, although in many cases they appear to be corrective rather than basic.

A program which assumes that mental health is a matter of all-day, daily experience has been undertaken by the Detroit schools with the aid of certain departments of Wayne University and the University of Michigan. The report [8] deals with the use of specialists, materials (films, recordings, mental-health plays, books) and evaluation. While the Detroit schools were perhaps especially fortunate in having superior assistance, many of the materials are easily accessible to any school interested in improving its approach.

A recent edition of the Review of Educational Research [9] includes two chapters which might well be used as a basis for study by any school assuming leadership in a community undertaking. Excellent bibliographies are provided.

QUESTIONS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL

Perhaps a simple method of approaching the specifics of program and method in dealing with the mental health of adolescents might be through questions. No logical order seems possible, since each question implies the others.

a) Are members of the teaching staff alert to the seriousness of the mental-health problem in their classrooms, and are they informed as to the nature of the students' difficulties?

Obviously, the best outline of courses, methods, extracurricular activities, and assignments will fail unless the individual teachers know how to set up healthy classroom situations and understand the nature of the difficulties a student may be having. It is not uncommon for teachers to misinterpret serious maladjustment as "meanness," "laziness," or "stupidity." All too frequently the child who merely retreats into his shell and does not respond in class is

[8] Paul T. Rankin and John M. Dorsey, *The Detroit School Mental-Health Project*. New York: National Association for Mental Health, Inc. (1790 Broadway), 1953.

[9] *Research on Human Relations and Programs of Action*. Review of Educational Research, Vol. XXIII, No. 4. Washington: American Educational Research Association, 1953.

given little attention because he causes no trouble. In contrast, the student who tries to gain status by being noisy, by opposing the teacher, or by defying rules may be treated as "bad," and put into a position where he more than ever finds himself struggling for self-respect.

Study of mental hygiene under trained instructors or staff members is, of course, desirable, and we need more attention to this matter by teacher-training institutions. Much can be gained, however, by a little intelligent reading and discussion. If textbooks seem too general and remote, groups can be asked to see and discuss some of the many excellent films dealing with mental hygiene. Such a film as *The Quiet One* raises important questions and is easily available from bureaus distributing films to schools.

Fiction, such as *Catcher in the Rye* (Salinger), *Ricky* (Calitri), *The Wind and the Rain* (Burke), *The Wanderer* (Fournier), *Cress Delahanty* (West), would enrich teachers in many ways and increase understanding of adolescents. Such books, permitting identification by the teacher, might also help those faculty members who are, themselves, in need of some understanding of self.

b) Does the teaching staff understand the role of the specialist, so that students are referred to the psychologist or guidance officer for counseling and examination?

In many schools only those students who have come into conflict with school regulations or with civil law are given special guidance. Many teachers are, of course, skilful in handling distressed young people and offer great security to them, but it is important that the teacher make sure his sympathy or his discipline is what the individual child should have. It is important that the teaching staff understand this and that where treatment is indicated by the specialist it is consistently followed. There should be sufficient authority in this matter to insure a consistent procedure; but this authority needs to be based on intelligent understanding on the part of the teaching staff.

c) Is the program sufficiently flexible to take care of variations in growth rate and consequent variability in interest and intensity? (This is in addition to what is usually meant by "adaptation to individual differences.")

While today many schools have courses for slow, average, or

superior groups, and while others include within required courses such range of material that all may find something suitable to their abilities, the question above goes further. Again, the understanding of the teacher is concerned. It may happen that two students with similar records and with similar achievement at the beginning of a term may, during the adolescent years, move at very different rates. The junior high school years often see these irregularities, and the school should recognize them and attempt to explain them to parents.

d) Does the program allow for changes in vocational aims?

As was suggested earlier in this chapter, many schools begin during junior high school to present material on which vocational choices are to be made. It is also true that during high-school years election of courses is often in terms of chosen vocations. The prospective engineer takes courses in physics, chemistry, and mathematics; the potential doctor elects chemistry and biology, and so forth. Tests which indicate low ability in academic subjects often direct a student to training in trade or shop, or turn the girl toward office work or certain less-demanding occupations. Not infrequently, these early choices, whether directed or voluntary, prove unsatisfactory. Work in the shop may so develop the student that he appears to be able to follow the profession he preferred; or preprofessional study is so difficult that a change to something less demanding seems desirable. It may also occur that the student who showed little preference develops, late in his high-school career, special interests at variance with his earlier direction.

Whatever the situation or the cause, certainly there should be full understanding that many changes may and should be made. It is absurd to think that at fourteen or fifteen or even eighteen most young people know enough about adult life to choose for the rest of their days. This problem becomes a matter of mental health when dissatisfactions are hidden, when choices involve conflicting feelings concerning parents, or when fears or uncertainties color the whole behavior. All too frequently school inertia combines with parental pressure to keep the youngster at the ill-suited task. Failure is sometimes his only method of proving his unfitness and securing release. Deliberate failure, coupled with rebellion, does not make for mental health.

Vocational choices, therefore, should be kept flexible, recognized as tentative and exploratory, and so explained to both student and parent. The school has a responsible role in this matter.

e) Is opportunity for success available to both dull and bright students, the healthy and unhealthy, the athletic and nonathletic?

The literature of education is filled with articles and books on adapting the high-school curriculum to individual needs.[10] It is difficult to imagine how anyone, required to attempt what he knows he cannot do and penalized for failure, can maintain mental health unless he has unusual resistance and balance. The reader who is interested should refer to the volume just cited for assistance.

f) Does each student's program include opportunities for free expression?

(Creative opportunities are frequently thought of as work in the arts, sports, and other extracurricular activities. They should, however, extend farther. In such courses as social studies, English, and science, the school should offer variety for choice, with some opportunity for individual expression in each.) It is important that the student see the experiment he reports, the investigation he carries on in the library, the reading he selects, the story he writes—all as evidence that he as a person is somewhat different from each other person and responsible for the particular form his work takes. In contrast to this are mass assignments for writing; limited lists from which to read; demands for conformity in opinion; lack of encouragement to experiment (even though the experiment may have been done by adults before). Coupled with the need for individual expression is the need for some choice of subjects. (There should be sufficient time during enrolment that the student, in conference with adults, can choose with the feeling that his program has something of individuality to it.

g) Are the subject-matter fields related?

Mention was made before of the fact that (the curriculum often tends to develop logic-tight compartments of thought, an unhealthful procedure) Many schools, in order to overcome this process, have introduced the core or unified course of study.) The purpose

[10] See, for example, *Adapting the Secondary-School Program to the Needs of Youth.* Fifty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

is, of course, not simply one of mental health but one of practical effectiveness also. Alberty, in chapter vii of the yearbook just cited, describes various patterns for such programs.[11]

b) Does the schedule arrange for a continuing relation of the student with one or more adults, with choice as to sex of advisors?

As was indicated earlier in the discussion, the adolescent finds it necessary to identify with his own sex group. If he fails to do this, we consider him immature, his adjustment unwholesome, his mental health dubious.

It is obvious that in our culture many adolescents have difficulty with their adjustment to an adult role and proper sex identification. In broken homes, there is frequently a tendency of the parent in charge to dominate the child. Obviously, this often results in bad adjustment. The adolescent who tries to break away from the parent finds himself lost. Without, perhaps, a father, he has no adult man friend to whom to turn. The teacher is evidently the natural substitute; indeed, he is in any case likely to hold an intermediate relationship between childhood and adult friends. It is important, therefore, that the school provide for all adolescents such counselors, advisors, and room teachers as their adjustment problems may call for.

To expect the personnel of the guidance office to fill these roles for all students in a school is absurd. Nor will all teachers be equally competent or willing. Among the incompetent and unwilling will be some who reject full responsibility and some who, themselves, desire undue satisfaction from adolescent company. Neither offer the strong adult support needed, and the school should choose carefully those to whom such responsibility is intrusted.

Not only should each student know clearly that he has an advisor to whom he can turn easily (introductions should be a matter of routine), but once this advisor proves satisfying, he should continue for some time. The student who most needs a confidant can least endure having this friend taken from him at the end of a term or a year. If possible, such relations should be continued until there is evidence that they may be comfortably transferred. Moreover, not all such consultants should be women. Boys should have men counselors or advisors whom they can consult and imitate.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-40.

i) Do athletic and social groupings take into consideration the variations in adolescent growth?

This is another way of asking the question: Are such differences accepted as normal, neither played up nor frowned upon? Irregular growth often makes for great discomfort for the boy who is slow to develop or the one who is overgrown, unless in athletic organizations there are age-size groupings rather than age-grade groupings. Similarly, girls, who are too tall to enjoy dancing with boys of their own age during the eighth to tenth grades, should not have difficulty in getting into social groups more appropriate to their development. Nor should the very early maturity of either boy or girl be ignored, while the youngster is held to grade-group social events. Some schools arrange for overlappings in school events. Eighth-ninth-grade parties of one sort are offered, while ninth-tenth-grade events of a different kind are also given; students are permitted to feel free to ignore what seems unsuitable to them. Certainly we often treat the girl who is prematurely grown as though she were to be blamed. "Boy struck" is a frequent epithet.

j) Are the peculiar behaviors of adolescents accepted as what they are, attempts at adjustment?

This question might be merely a subhead under the general heading concerning the education of the teacher. (Many attempts at adulthood made by high-school students are annoying and ridiculous to adults: slang, unusual styles in clothing, fondness for old cars, imitations of adults (such as wearing club insignia, special hats or jackets, initiations, overuse of make-up, smoking), talk about night clubs, sporting events, and so forth. A school which is designed especially for adolescents cannot expect to avoid these manifestations.)

k) Does the school have an assigned—not incidental—place for discussing problems peculiar to adolescents: sex behavior and development; dating; relation to parents; future responsibilities as citizens; choice of vocations?

Such problem studies as the foregoing should not be "electives" but a part of the normal program, dignified as natural and important. It is perhaps significant of something that the index for the yearbook previously referred to as dealing with "the problems of youth" does not contain either the words "sex," "dating," "petting," "smok-

ing," "drinking," or "narcotics" although it does list "juvenile delinquency," "health," "athletics," and "work"!

Certainly no one would suggest that narcotics and drinking are among the needs of youth, but information about them, and discussion of their dangers and appeal might be considered among youth's needs when we consider how many adolescents are involved in use of them.

l) Is the school itself consistent, healthful, in its demands?

In many schools, for example, there are penalties for smoking in the building or on the grounds, while instructors have smoking-rooms known to the students.) Argument that high-school Seniors are less vigorous than many of their instructors does not make sense. It is also true that in other schools the faculty, sensing some inconsistency in the situation, pretend to ignorance of the violation of rules. No suggestion is here given that limitations are not needed, nor that smoking by faculty is an evil. The point is that, to the older students, here is another example of the confusion of social demands. An intelligent solution, worked out in parent-teacher-student conferences has cleared the air in a number of school situations.

m) Finally, has the school made an effort, has it taken leadership, in bringing together agencies in the community which might further a wholesome atmosphere for the adolescent?

The examples referred to in this chapter suggest the wide range of clubs, church groups, local and national organizations which can be brought into the picture. Clubs and social events planned by the adolescent promote good mental health but need backing and help from adults. More than that, adults will attack the situations which, during the child's early years, provide the steps to later trouble. The school should first try to set its own house in order, but as this is begun it will be more and more obvious that such order is related to the life of the community and that the mental health of the adolescent calls for a wholesome school in a wholesome community.

Mental-Health Practices at the College Level

LOUIS P. THORPE

The Incidence of Maladjustment among College Students

Although the majority of college and university students maintain a normal state of mental health, many institutions of higher learning have a substantial number who at times manifest anxiety or depression, who are disturbed by recurring fears or conflicts, or who are victims of psychosomatic disorders of varying degrees of severity. These institutions must also cope with occasional deviations in sexual behavior and at least a modicum of transgression of the law.

Furthermore, virtually every college and university has its quota of more severely maladjusted personalities. Some students are withdrawn, others are indifferent, and still others are antisocial or overtly hostile. There also are students who are psychoneurotic and whose anxieties and tensions are apparent to both their classmates and instructors. A few psychotics, often students with marked paranoiac trends who suppose they are being unjustly treated or discriminated against, are included in the collegiate population manifesting disorders of behavior. It should be evident that these disorders constitute a serious handicap to the individual, to the school, and to the stability of society itself.

It is the purpose of this chapter to set forth the principal needs which characterize college students, the various problems facing them which are conducive to the development of emotional tension, and the practices now in vogue among representative institutions of higher learning designed to assist the rank and file of students in making an adequate personal and social adjustment to both the school and life. Both the literature on the subject and a partial

survey of the colleges and universities themselves have been examined in an effort to throw light on these and related issues.

The Basic Needs of College Students

The needs of individuals of college age obviously differ in some respects from those which characterize either children or mature men and women. In short, late adolescents and young adults have needs which are unique to the period of life in Western society in which they find themselves, i.e., the somewhat indefinite span of time between childhood and mature adult status.

A number of studies of the most pressing needs of young persons of the age in question have been made.[1] There is available a list of such needs which appears to have taken into account the principal findings of these investigations.[2] It is believed by the author of this formulation of needs that most psychologists are in agreement with it. The list follows:

1. The need to become increasingly independent of parents and other adults [emancipation from the home].
2. The need to establish satisfying intellectual, social, and emotional relations with the opposite sex [heterosexual social adjustment].
3. The need for status in his own age group, acceptance by both sexes.
4. The need for a sense of security: emotional security in having someone love him and believe in him, economic security in the present and promise for the future, social security in a sense of belonging to an accepted social unit, such as the family or other primary social group.
5. The need for success and a feeling of growth or achievement in at least one area of his life.
6. The need for an acceptable goal for the future, both vocational goal and life purpose.

This list of needs may be considered more or less typical of those pertaining to the period of development marked by emancipation from control by adults and the necessity of becoming adjusted to interpersonal relationships with members of both sexes. In brief, this list includes both the general basic needs and those peculiar to college and university students.

[1] See, for example, Ruth Strang, *Behavior and Background of Students in College and Secondary School*, chaps. i-ii. New York: Harper & Bros., 1937.

[2] C. Gilbert Wrenn, *Student Personnel Work in College*, p. 8. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1951.

Identifying Causes of Tension among College Students

A number of investigations dealing with problems affecting the mental health of college students have been conducted by the methods of consulting students directly and circulating questionnaires and check lists. These studies have revealed a wide variety of such problems, making analyses of the extent to which students have sought or accepted counseling service, and questioning teachers, counselors, or others regarding their observations of student behavior.

A digest [3] of the problems of college students as indicated by the various means of collecting the data mentioned includes (*a*) academic problems, or those involving study habits, choice of courses, unfamiliar subjects, unsympathetic instructors, and difficulties with lesson assignments; (*b*) vocational problems, or those concerned with lack of a goal in life, lack of knowledge of personal capabilities, ignorance of the requirements of various vocations, and vague understanding of the relation between what was taught in college and vocational requirements; (*c*) financial problems, or those entailing anxiety over lack of funds and loss of opportunity to engage in social life because of having to work long hours; (*d*) social problems, or those associated with loneliness or lack of friends and concern over inadequate mastery of social skills; and (*e*) problems of an emotional nature, or those involving fear of failure in school or of failure to meet the expectations of friends and acquaintances, or fear of conflicts over religious or moral issues, and personal concerns or anxieties of one kind or another.

In a list of problems encountered by college students as revealed in a survey conducted by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools,[4] the one which loomed largest was concern over finances. Other major problems, listed in order of frequency, included problems of social adjustment and extracurricular activities, problems associated with academic progress, problems of an emotional nature, and problems involving vocational planning. Many college students are also disturbed by such personal problems as budgeting their time for study, self-consciousness, inability to

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[4] D. H. Gardner, *Student Personnel Service*, p. 93. The Evaluation of Higher Institutions, Vol. V. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

concentrate, insufficient rest and sleep, lack of self-confidence, and buying and spending wisely.[5]

Problems of College Students Affecting Mental Health

Another approach to ascertaining the actual problems encountered by the college-student population as a whole is the one of examining programs of student personnel services offered at a sampling of colleges and universities.[6] Such a survey provides considerable information regarding the problems associated with college life which give rise to problems affecting mental health. It also indicates the scope of campus activities of various kinds having a bearing on mental health with which college students come in contact.

In combining lists of students' problems, as reported by them or their instructors, with the types of problems for which provision is made in many student personnel programs, a formulation such as the following might be made.[7]

Problems Associated with Becoming Admitted to College.[8] A number of problems are associated with selecting, making application to, and being accepted by a given college or university. Certain of these problems are conducive to frustration and its attendant anxiety or hostility, especially in the case of individuals who already are characterized by feelings of inferiority or inadequacy. Among these problems is the one of deciding whether to attend a large college or university where the costs are low but where little personal attention can be anticipated, or to choose a small and perhaps more expensive school where the policy is that of showing an interest in the needs of the individual student.

[5] Ruth A. Hunter and David H. Morgan, "Problems of College Students," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XL (February, 1949), 79-92.

[6] See a later section of this chapter for a report of such services as offered in representative American institutions of higher learning.

[7] It should, of course, be recognized that many of the problems mentioned do not originate in college but are associated with earlier situations encountered in the home and other social contacts. They are merely intensified by the new adjustments called for in college life.

[8] J. E. Long, "Admissions Policies and Procedures," *Current Trends in Higher Education*. Washington: Department of Higher Education, National Education Association, 1949.

There is also the problem of getting a transcript of studies accepted by the school of the student's choice. Virtually all colleges and universities reserve the right to decide which of the courses of study on a given transcript will be accepted in connection with admission to their institution or toward a given degree or credential. Some transfer students who have experienced considerable loss in this respect have become cynical and extremely critical of a college education as such.

Another problem is that of taking college-entrance examinations. It is not uncommon for the individual to manifest a great deal of anxiety both before and while taking the various tests required. In some instances a student will experience emotional block and be unable to proceed with the examination. Others find that they can do no better than to give superficial and unacceptable answers to the questions.

In some colleges and universities provision is made for the education of individuals who come without benefit of a transcript of studies (or grades) which meet the entrance requirements. These students may be taught in separate classes or they may be permitted to attend regular classes with the understanding that their eventual admission to full standing is contingent upon meeting certain requirements as to grades. In the meantime such young men or women obviously are under considerable pressure to succeed in their studies. Those who, to a degree, are emotionally unstable find such a program especially difficult to pursue.

Problems Associated with Securing Appropriate Housing. Books and journal articles dealing with student personnel work in college frequently mention problems associated with housing.[9] A number of these problems are said to give rise to tensions affecting student mental health.

The influence on mental health of living in a private home may be either beneficial or detrimental. On the positive side, living in such a home in close touch with a friendly family approximates living in one's own home and may prove both stimulating and reassuring. However, in some instances the student lives virtually

[9] See, for example, Marjorie Johnson, "Residence Halls," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women*, XIII, (June, 1950), 165-66; and Florence Thompson, "Residence Halls and the Educational Program," *Educational Record*, XXIX (January, 1948), 64-71.

alone in his room, seldom communicating or associating with either a family or a group of young people of his own age and cultural background. Students who live in this way frequently injure their health through improper dietary practices and, at the same time, make few if any social contacts on or off the campus. In addition to the adverse effects of these living conditions on mental health, there is often evidence of social maladjustment such as, for example, an increasingly sensitive personality.

Another problem indirectly associated with student housing is the one of being accepted by a fraternity or sorority. Every instructor in an educational institution which includes these organizations in its family of housing units is familiar with the student's problems incidental to being "rushed" by the members of such organizations and living in one of their houses. First of all, many a young man who has, for example, been groomed by fond parents for eventual admission into a fraternity of his choice has suffered a serious emotional shock upon learning that he was not acceptable to the fraternity in question. This type of student, as well as those who are opposed to the presence of fraternities, often creates considerable friction detrimental to the morale of his associates. The same thing may be said regarding sororities. They, too, involve deep identifications and social aspirations on the part of a sizable number of college and university young women.

Problems Associated with Securing Financial Aid. This is an age-old area of problems in the realm of higher education. Every year literally thousands of college students struggle with the anxieties attendant upon working their way through school or borrowing the money with which to pay their expenses.[10]

Although much has been written about the advantages of the developmental effects of working one's way through college, from the standpoint of mental health certain disadvantages are frequently involved. The individual may work so hard to make a living and to get satisfactory grades in school that he not only impairs his health and generates emotional tension involving feelings of insecurity but also neglects to participate in even a modicum of social life. Such a student obviously is paying too high a price for

[10] Helen E. Davis, *On Getting into School*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1949.

his education. In some cases the individual does not have time to study adequately and thus, academically speaking, does not even get an education. Perhaps even more serious are the instances in which the prospective student is unable, for financial reasons, to secure a college education at all and who, as a consequence, spends his life wishing he could be engaged in an occupation more commensurate with his potentialities.

If scholarships, fellowships, or loans were available to all college students who are in need of financial help, many a problem of mental health would be avoided. Although the relatively limited number of scholarships available as a rule cover only tuition, or a part of it, they have been of help to many a student in connection with both his financial and personal problems. The majority of needy college students must, if they are to secure financial help, endeavor to secure one or more loans.[11] Such a student is required to furnish character references, evidence as to his educational objectives, possible future ability to repay the loan, and so on. In commenting on the problem of financial help to students, one writer [12] states that ". . . limitations of the total program of financial aid of any sort—scholarships, employment, loans—are cited in order to emphasize the complexity and urgency of need. *No* institution can look with too much pride on its financial-aid program if the gap between need and fulfilment is realistically viewed."

Some students worry a great deal about the necessity of repaying loans made in college. Other students feel inadequate about not being able to make such payments on time and are embarrassed and tense when seeking a continuation of the loan. Concern about repaying loans obviously is commendable, but it nevertheless may entail such anxiety as to affect the student's mental health.

Problems Associated with Attaining Academic Standards. There are a number of reasons for failure of college students to make satisfactory progress academically. First of all, some colleges and universities have been criticized for enroling students who have manifested no evidence of ability adequate to do college work. Although it is difficult to ascertain how much a given student will

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[11] S. N. Feingold, *Scholarships, Fellowships, and Loans.* Boston: Bellman Publishing Co., 1949.

[12] C. Gilbert Wrenn, *op. cit.,* p. 353.

accomplish in this respect if sufficiently motivated, this indictment is, to an extent, probably warranted.

It also is evident that, due to a variety of forces playing upon him, e.g., ill-health, long hours of work, problems of a social nature, inadequate finances, and personal conflicts, many an able college student is beset by anxiety due to fear of failure. Such a student may have high personal aspirations and may be encountering pressure from parents who are concerned about their social status and family prestige. Problems of the college classroom mentioned in reports in the psychological literature also include (*a*) choosing courses which are too difficult, the subsequent failure resulting in depression and symptoms of fatigue; (*b*) perfectionism leading to the development of headaches and abdominal pains; (*c*) deep anxiety over the possibility of failure in course examinations; and (*d*) a compulsive need to excel in homework and all class assignments which is not resolved.[13] These factors in some cases add up to tensions of an emotional nature which lead to anxiety states and other psychoneurotic trends.[14]

There likewise is the problem of the appreciable number of ex-college students who either failed to complete their work or who were forced to leave school for financial or other reasons. Many of these individuals are frustrated adults who harbor deep feelings of inferiority or inadequacy because of not having a college education or not being in a position to secure the type of work to which a college degree would have entitled them. Failure to reach academic standards in college can eventuate in personality problems of major import.

Problems Associated with Social Activities. It is generally agreed that a moderate program of social life is an invaluable part of a college education. Most colleges and universities pride themselves upon providing a social environment which is conducive to the development of skill in interpersonal relationships. Unfortunately, however, many promising college men and women, for one reason or another, do not avail themselves of the opportunities for making social contacts which campus life usually affords.

[13] Wilbert J. McKeachie, "Anxiety in the College Classroom," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLV (October, 1951), 153-60.

[14] George M. Lott, "Clinical Problems Common among College Students," *Mental Hygiene*, XXXIV (October, 1950), 641-45.

Some students live far from the school and thus spend very little time there except to attend classes.[15] As previously mentioned, other students live with families who usurp their spare time, or they may be recluses with few interests who stay in their rooms without endeavoring to take part in the social life of the campus. Needless to say, such withdrawal from contacts with friends or classmates in some instances is symptomatic of progressive maladjustment. Students manifesting such withdrawal tendencies are missing one of the prime requisites of mental health[16] and may be in danger of developing an increasing "in-turned" type of personality. In any event, problems which may eventuate in mental ill-health are involved here.

Not infrequently students who participated extensively in social activities in high school seem lost in this respect when attending college. Such young people in some cases feel frustrated and defeated. They believe themselves to be more or less failures in the larger and more complex environment of the college or university. Some of these students develop a feeling of futility which causes them to withdraw from social activities and which militates against their success in other collegiate endeavors, notably their academic studies.

The college or university also has its quota of social "butterflies" who spend the major part of their available time promoting or participating in the affairs of social organizations. Such students are inveterate "joiners" and feel thwarted if not invited to take the lead in various campus projects. These young people are inclined to neglect their studies, paying the price in discontent as well as receiving low or failing grades in their courses.

Problems Associated with Religious Beliefs. Many college students come from homes in which conservative religious beliefs have been emphasized since their childhood. Upon enrolling in science and other courses they come into direct contact with the point of view that the phenomena they see about them are the result of

[15] Jean Swensen and Jessie Rhulman, "Leisure Activities of a University Sophomore Class," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, XII (July, 1952), 452-66.

[16] Ruth Strang, *Group Activities in College and Secondary School.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1946.

natural law and not of supernatural intervention. This unintentional, but nevertheless real, assault upon their religious beliefs in some instances leads to emotional conflicts involving feelings of guilt or anxiety. The student finds to his dismay that many of the religious dogmas which were presented to him as truths are regarded by certain of his more mature colleagues and instructors as constituting beliefs rather than facts. The result may be disturbing to mental health because the student cannot reconcile his deep identification with these dogmas with his desire to be considered intelligent and flexible by his peers. The result may be either a profound sense of guilt or a withdrawal from social contacts of a disturbing nature.

The college student also is confronted with the problem of whether or not to attend church regularly. He may feel that to do so is a sign of naiveté. On the other hand, he may find the church of his choice to be a stimulating center of social life.

Problems Associated with Rules of Conduct. An appreciable number of students in virtually every college find certain of the rules of conduct so inhibiting as to frustrate them in what they regard as proper activities. This situation especially is in evidence in conservative colleges where the rules are strict. There also are students in college who, as the result of past experiences in the home and elsewhere, have developed an antisocial outlook on life. These students may flaunt the rules of the school and thus cause considerable commotion on the campus. Still other students occasionally get into trouble with the school authorities as the result of misbehavior brought about by unusual circumstances with which they cannot cope. The upshot of the various situations mentioned is the presence of many tension-producing problems involving the disciplining of students. Among these are included association with questionable company, the drinking of alcoholic beverages, intimate relations between young men and women, unchaperoned social functions, and occasional brushes with the police.

As most college instructors no doubt know, the older punitive methods of administering discipline often resulted in the creation of even more severe problems. Such methods included fines of varying amounts, academic tasks such as memorizing or copying disparaging letters to parents, public rebuke, confinement to rooms,

confession of wrong-doing, corporal punishment, and expulsion in the presence of an assembly.[17] The detrimental effects on the personal and social adjustment of the offenders could be said to include feelings of inferiority, a sense of inadequacy, emotional conflicts, guilt complexes, and, perhaps most noticeable of all, overt hostility leading to antisocial behavior.

Problems Associated with Courtship and Marriage. The problems associated with courtship and marriage are well known. When encountered in college they may be especially acute and productive of anxiety. Tension-producing problems connected with courtship include winning the approval of a desired lover, finding time for courting activities without seriously neglecting studies or other requirements, knowing how to handle one's self socially or otherwise on dates, and engaging in intimate courting tabooed by society and which results in feelings of guilt. Whereas many, perhaps most, college students solve the problems mentioned with a minimum of emotional disturbance, there are some on nearly every campus who eventually succumb to certain of them and, to a degree, become psychological casualties. Those with maladjustments of personality stemming from the home may manifest symptoms of a psychosomatic, psychoneurotic, or possibly of a mild psychotic nature.

The problems associated with marriage are many and varied. In terms of the culture of most American communities, college students (especially upper division) are of marriageable age. Thus, the majority of those who are not married are preoccupied, to an extent, with the question of whether or when to get married. Many such students are seriously concerned about the selection of a life mate as well as the intimate adjustments they will be called upon to make if they should marry. Not a few colleges create additional problems of a tension-producing nature by separating students from the school who marry during a school term.

Students who already are married, especially if they have children, encounter the troublesome problems of financing the family, having one or both parents work, taking adequate care of their children, and finding time to study.

Problems Associated with Choosing a Vocation. Two facts,

[17] E. G. Williamson and J. D. Foley, *Counseling and Discipline*, pp. 176-78. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950.

among others, make the selection of a vocation a fundamental problem for college students. First, young men and women of college age find themselves at a point in their development where they soon must enter an occupation or profession in order to conform to the prevailing culture and to earn a livelihood. Even young married women in a great many cases must look forward to long-term employment. Secondly, problems of no small import are created by the fact that today there are thousands of occupations from which to select a life calling.[18]

As all vocational counselors know, the problem of assisting a young person in choosing an occupation is greatly complicated by the fact that a veritable legion of personal and other factors contribute to the achievement of success in any of the many fields of occupational endeavor. There is no simple solution to the question of selecting an occupation or profession in which the individual is certain to adapt himself adequately. It thus can be seen that most college students are likely to experience many frustrations and cope with many anxieties before making a satisfactory occupational adjustment. In fact, it is well known that a great many young people have drifted into vocations for which they have little taste, with the result that they have lived dissatisfied lives or have become compulsively critical and otherwise emotionally disturbed.

Problems Associated with Physical Health. Many college students are ignorant of the facts and principles of maintaining physical health. Not only do they harbor misconceptions regarding the care of health but, in some instances, they manifest an indifferent attitude toward problems of health, apparently taking the position that the medical profession is responsible for such matters.[19] The result is an unnecessary accumulation of instances of ill-health on college campuses. In the meantime students are handicapped in their studies, their social life, and their progress toward the attainment of other objectives. Some students worry a great deal about their health, thus adding emotional tension or other symptoms of a psychological

[18] Norman A. Johnson, "Integrating Placement with the Student Personnel Program," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* IX (July, 1949), 602-13.

[19] George M. Wheatley, "School Health Programs as the Students See Them," *Journal of Health and Physical Education,* XVI (November, 1945), 489-90.
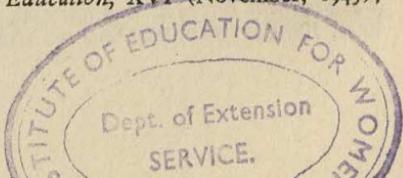
nature to their condition. A few such individuals apparently are outright hypochondriacs.

Instructor-Student Relationships

A great deal could be written regarding the import for student morale and mental health of instructor-student relationships in the college classroom. Although in most instances these relationships are constructive, at times they constitute one of the tension-producing problems of students even at this level of the academic ladder. Few influences register a greater impact on a student's adjustment than the manner in which he is approached by his several instructors.

Extent of Attention of Instructors to the Needs of Students. As everyone who understands the mental-hygiene point of view can testify, the instructor who manifests a warm, accepting, and personally interested attitude toward his students tends to engender in them a sense of security, a feeling of personal adequacy, and an increased desire to continue academic pursuits. There are understandable exceptions to this generalization, but for the most part it can be depended upon. From the findings of an extensive program [20] of evaluation by students of the teaching methods of several hundred professors at the University of Washington, Dean Edwin R. Guthrie has reported that the students reacted most favorably to instructors (*a*) who were clear and understandable in their explanations, (*b*) who took a personal, active interest in the progress of their classes, (*c*) who were friendly and sympathetic in manner, (*d*) who manifested interest and enthusiasm in their subject, and (*e*) who were able to get students interested in their subject.

Most colleges and universities have on their faculty one or more egocentric, condescending, or demanding instructors who appear to take pride in their ability to frighten students into a strict conformity to their allegedly scholarly requirements. However, instead of motivating their students to high achievement academically, such autocratic teachers often cause certain of their students to develop such a state of anxiety as to be unable to study or recite satisfactorily. Other students become so discontented or discour-

[20] Edwin R. Guthrie, "The Evaluation of Teaching," *Training Analysis and Development Informational Bulletin*, IV (Fall, 1953), 199-206. Scott Air Force Base, Illinois: Training Analysis and Development Directorate.

aged that they request permission to change their program of studies. It is not uncommon for college students in this situation to develop symptoms of a psychosomatic nature and even to leave school with their hopes of securing a college degree frustrated. Thus, in an important sense a college student's mental-health status is determined, at least in part, by the type of instructors he happens to have in his classroom.

Extent of Extraclass Services Given by Instructors. Many college students wish to confer periodically with their instructors during office hours about matters of an academic or other routine nature. Opportunity for doing so is usually considered a privilege and, in the case of some students, constitutes an important part of their college career. Moreover, some students suffer from maladjustments of personality of a transitory and relatively minor nature which serious attention on the part of an interested instructor could help alleviate. This is particularly true in cases of failure in a school subject. As one writer [21] has concluded, "emotional insecurity . . . is the basic cause of most educational disabilities and learning failures which are not due to mental defect." Many instructors probably consider the reverse to be true—that failure in school is the cause of emotional maladjustment. The alert instructor who is concerned about his students' mental health no doubt will encounter both types of situations.

Examples of helpful behavior on the part of college instructors who are alert to the implications for mental health of their students' personal problems are not difficult to find. In one instance, an orchestra conductor noted that two extremely shy sisters, whom he knew to be competent instrumentalists, were making few if any social contacts on the campus. He subsequently made it a point to invite them to become members of the school orchestra, an experience which virtually required them to associate under pleasant circumstances with better socially adjusted young people of both sexes. In a year's time the change in the demeanor and social adjustment of the sisters was marked. Without sacrificing the quality of the musical performance of his orchestra this instructor had contributed to the mental health of two of his students.

[21] Dorothea McCarthy, *Personality and Learning,* p. 95. American Council on Education, Series I, No. 35. Washington: American Council on Education, 1949.

In another instance of helpful service to a student with problems, an English teacher saved an otherwise promising young man from being dismissed from school. The student's smug and cynical behavior had so alienated him from his peers and certain of his teachers that he was being ostracized by them. After talking with the student privately on several occasions, the instructor discovered that he was a rejected son who hated his father and a younger brother. By helping to arrange for the young man to live away from home and by manifesting an accepting and helpful attitude toward him, this teacher was able to bring about such a change for the better in the course of one semester that the young man not only stayed in school but became one of the most effective extemporaneous speakers in the English class.

Other examples of helpful instructor-student relationships which could be delineated in greater detail include assisting students with feelings of inferiority in gaining confidence, helping senior students or others secure the type of position which they desire, and counseling students regarding their educational objectives. These and other assists have influenced the mental health and personality adjustment of many college students.

The college or university instructor who ignores the types of student problem mentioned and who takes the position that his students can take or leave his requirements and make the best of the situation, is blithely contributing to the increase of neuroticism or other personality disturbances in the social scene in America.

Participation of Instructors in Student Activities. It is a widely accepted principle in college and university administration that extraclass activities which make provision for personality development through social participation are an essential factor in meeting the needs of students. In many small colleges almost every student is a member of one or more organized social groups. In a large university (Minnesota, 1950), there may exist as many as four hundred organized student activities.[22]

Since most of the group activities in question call for sponsors who are members of the faculty, instructors who desire to do so have the opportunity of making notable contributions to the social development of their students. Young people, as a rule, are grateful

[22] C. Gilbert Wrenn, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

for the privilege of associating socially with their professors and no doubt reflect this added interpersonal warmth in their classwork responses. In fact, it often has been said that students learn as much in their out-of-class conversation with their instructors and colleagues as they do in the classroom. This may be an overdrawn statement, but many a college student will testify that an occasional "meeting of minds" with an instructor is one of his most cherished memories of college days.

In this connection may be mentioned the instance of a college instructor who both saved himself a possible disciplinary difficulty and contributed to the success of the school baseball team. One of the players most essential to the team was having trouble in getting passing grades because of a lack of interest in classwork in general. He was also noisy in class. Through taking steps to become personally acquainted (outside of class) with the player in question and talking with him informally about his personal aspirations, the instructor succeeded in arousing the young man's interest in working toward a teaching credential which would enable him to secure a position as an athletic coach in a high school. When the other players on the team understood what the instructor had accomplished with their star pitcher, they expressed their gratitude and invited the professor to sit on the players' bench at their games whenever he could find time to do so. And at no time was he asked to give any special scholastic consideration to their colleague.

Equally effective was a young instructor in a private university who had been asked to sponsor a student organization concerned with the promotion of constructive social life on the campus. The instructor's devotion to the students' personal welfare and social development was such that he not only won their co-operation but motivated them to systematic participation in the activities planned. He continually made it a point to include the less socially developed students in social activities which seemed appropriate for orienting them to group living and participation.

Appropriate Utilization of Classroom Subject Matter. It is possible so to present the content of academic subjects that an understanding of the subject matter itself contributes, at least indirectly, to the mental health of students. Such a procedure need not militate against a thorough mastery of subject matter as such. A case, no

doubt, could be made for the position that, other matters being reasonably equal, the college student who is well informed and who is skilful in the use of academic materials is in a more favorable position than others to gain the status and recognition which is essential to a sense of personal worth and, thus, to adequate mental health.

The case for the import for mental health of the various subject-matter areas has been made elsewhere.[23] The purpose here is merely to suggest the contributions which certain of these areas, if properly presented, could be expected to make at the college level.

Since language is the avenue through which man expresses himself and communicates with other people, it has great possibilities for written or oral release of aggression, role playing, and the dramatization (psychodrama) of frustrating and other tension-producing episodes. Through composition and creative writing, the student can "identify" with chosen characters and vicariously experience with them their conflicts, frustrations, and solutions to problems. In the social studies, the interested student can come to understand the dynamics of human behavior as they relate to the mores and folkways of a given culture. He also can be enabled to gain insight into the psychological and sociological origins of such problems as racial prejudice, widespread superstititon, and international conflicts.

In the field of science, the student could be oriented readily to such assets to mental health as weighing evidence, maintaining an "open mind," recognizing the relativity of situations and processes, and developing an objective and flexible attitude toward mutual problems. And so it is in the fields of music and art. Since "music may produce melancholy, move to tears, excite to martial deeds, or bring about religious ecstasy,"[24] it follows that it, too, can be tied in with a mental-hygiene point of view in college teaching. As for art, it long has been known that through the mediums of drawing, painting, and modeling can be effected the diagnosis of maladjustments of personality, the release of emotional tension, and the satisfaction of creative achievement. Even such aspects of personality

[23] Louis P. Thorpe, *The Psychology of Mental Health*, pp. 553-72. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 567.

as fear, anxiety, hostility, and a sense of insecurity often are revealed in drawings.

The possibilities for improved mental health and socialization of physical education are evident. The instructor who desires to do so can, through this avenue, promote relaxation and the release of tension, participation in organized games involving team play and co-operation, and the attainment of much-needed success in a sport on the part of students who have developed feelings of inadequacy in other school activities.

Practices Regarding Student Needs and Problems

One of the earliest attempts to implement an organized program devoted to the mental-health needs of college students was that inaugurated at Yale University in 1925.[25] The decision to establish a Department of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene at this university was occasioned by the spread of the mental-hygiene movement and by increasing knowledge concerning emotional disturbances as experienced by young adults. For several years a staff consisting of psychiatrists, social workers, and at least one clinical psychologist gave routine mental-health examinations as well as conducted informal conferences with groups of Freshmen. When it became apparent that the majority of students were not being stimulated to ask for assistance in the solution of their personal problems, a new plan was adopted which provided counseling service only for those who voluntarily sought such service or who were referred by a physician, dean, teacher, or other interested party. The work of the department has, however, continued and represents an important milestone in the movement to safeguard the psychological health, as well as academic progress, of college and university students.

Extent of Concern with Student Needs and Problems. A perusal of the literature relating to organized counseling and mental-hygiene services offered in American colleges and universities makes it evident that considerable interest is being manifested in this area of higher education.[26] A survey by the writer of a sampling of the

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[25] C. C. Fry, *Mental Health in College.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1942.

[26] Ellis Weitzman, "The Meaning of a Comprehensive Student Personnel Program," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* IX (October, 1949), 671-77.

institutions themselves, in connection with which a request was made for printed or other reproduced material explanatory of the types of services offered in relation to student needs and problems, netted considerable additional evidence that the personal adjustment and social development of their students apparently is of paramount concern to colleges and universities.[27]

In analyzing the types of services affecting student mental health offered by the institutions of higher learning contacted, they appeared to lend themselves to the following categories: (*a*) Freshman programs, (*b*) counseling centers, (*c*) testing programs or bureaus, (*d*) courses in personal adjustment, (*e*) mental-hygiene clinics, (*f*) psychiatric services, (*g*) health services, and (*h*) additional personnel services such as improvement in basic academic skills, vocational guidance, veterans' guidance, financial aid, employment, outlets for religious interests, and marriage and family counseling.

A number of universities have published comprehensive accounts of their over-all plan of organization for rendering services to students. Among these may be mentioned the University of Minnesota,[28] the College of the City of New York,[29] and Franklin and Marshall College.[30] An examination of these reports indicates the extent of the services to students offered by institutions of higher learning which are endeavoring to implement the mental-hygiene point of view. Some universities have prepared elaborate charts showing the extent and interlocked nature of their student personnel services. An example of such a diagrammatical scheme may be seen in the accompanying chart.

Freshman Orientation Programs. Some universities offer a Freshman orientation course which is intended to acquaint beginning students with the facts and principles considered essential to their adjustment to college and to life. Representative of such offerings is one given at Texas Christian University which considers such topics

[27] Some of this evidence was in the form of detailed explanatory letters to the present writer.

[28] *Trends in Student Personnel Work.* Edited by E. G. Williamson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

[29] LaVange Hunt Richardson, "Guidance for College Students," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXXV (October, 1949), 363-74.

[30] Theodore H. Copeland, "A Student-centered Program," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXIII (March, 1952), 145-47, 172.

STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES

University of Southern California

DEAN OF STUDENTS — Development, supervision, and co-ordination of services to students. Maintenance of budget and staff.

STUDENT PERSONNEL COUNCIL (Directors of each service)

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES — Supervision of University religious program. Coordination of student religious activities.
- UNIVERSITY CHAPLAIN

STUDENT HEALTH SERVICES* — Entrance Examinations. Infirmary Services
- DIRECTOR

INFORMATION SERVICE — Dispense University Bulletins. Lost and Found. Notary Public
- DIRECTOR

ADMISSIONS REGISTRATION — Admissions Standards. Processing—Registration. Maintenance of Records. School Relations
- DIRECTOR
  - REGISTRAR
  - DIRECTOR OF SCHOOL RELATIONS

FINANCIAL SERVICES — Scholarships. Loans. Grants-in-Aid
- STUDENT AID COMMITTEE
- EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TESTING SERVICES — Admissions Testing. Assistance to Faculty in Course Testing
- DIRECTOR

COUNSELING SERVICES** — Personal Guidance. Scholastic Counseling. Academic Advisement
- COUNSELOR OF MEN
- COUNSELOR OF WOMEN
- ACADEMIC ADVISERS COUNCIL
- FOREIGN STUDENT ADVISER
- INTER-FRATERNITY COUNSELOR
- PANHELLENIC ADMINISTRATOR

HOUSING SERVICES — Dormitory Housing, Private Homes, Rooming Houses, Apartments
- DIRECTOR

STUDENT ACTIVITIES — Student Government. Publications. Extracurricular Affairs. New Student Program
- STUDENT ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
- ADVISER OF STUDENT ACTIVITIES
  - Manager of Student Publications
  - COUNSELOR OF WOMEN

STUDENT CONDUCT — Campus behavior of students—investigatory, advisory, and enforcement function.
- STUDENT ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
- COUNSELOR OF MEN
- COUNSELOR OF WOMEN
  - Men's Judicial Board (Students)
  - Women's Judicial Board (Students)

PLACEMENT SERVICES — Full time positions for graduates. Part and full time positions for students. Public Relations
- DIRECTOR EMPLOYMENT BUREAU
- DIRECTOR TEACHER PLACEMENT

--- Indicates functional relationship, though budget and personnel authority is not with the Dean of Students.

*Includes a department of psychiatric services.

**Includes the services of clinical psychologists.

as how to study, choosing a vocation, planning an educational program, participating in a balanced social life, self-appraisal, and the maintenance of a healthy mental and emotional life.

A course for Freshmen with a somewhat similar objective, called "Personality and Development," given at Oregon State College stresses self-exploration with a view to bringing about a better understanding of the dynamics of behavior. In this instance the discussion of topics gradually is replaced by reference to questions or issues which are of vital importance to members of the class. Eventually, one by one, each student in the class is encouraged to present a personal problem (or a pattern of personality) to be discussed by the class in such a way as to enable him to achieve greater insight into the reasons for behavior which are not apparent to the untrained eye. An example of such a problem follows:

PROBLEM: *How Can I Help My Dad Enjoy Himself More?*

Analysis—During the experience on the previous pages, I came to understand my father more than I ever thought I would. It just never occurred to me that he had such feelings. Always before I thought Dad actually liked to work long hours and be by himself; little did I realize that this was just an escape for him.

I believe my Dad's problem comes from his life at home as a boy. He explained to me that night why he feels and acts the way he does, and I can see no other reason. My father lived on a ranch in Nebraska in his youth and is of the older German people. His homelife was not happy due to the fact that he was not allowed any privileges, and when he did not do his work correctly he was given punishment until he had to beg for mercy. When he was old enough to leave, he left home and has not been back since; also he says he has no desire to go back. Since our little get-together though, he has seemed to take more of an interest in what others in the family are doing. I believe if we can keep encouraging him and trying to understand him, he will enjoy himself more. Already he has vowed he will go out camping with the rest of us, and that is something he has not done very often before. He is just going to have to understand that no one is going to beat or punish him if he does not work all the time.

At New York University, in which institution the School of Education feels that it has a moral obligation to provide adequate mental-health services to students who later will find their places in the nation's classrooms, considerable attention is paid to the orientation of Freshman and Sophomore candidates for degrees and

teaching credentials. Such services include thorough advisement by trained counselors; the defining of educational and vocational objectives; arrangements of social participation; help with personal difficulties; and referrals, when called for, in connection with both health and psychiatric problems.

Counseling Centers. Practically all of the colleges and universities under examination maintain a comprehensive counseling center designed to assist students in the solution of a wide variety of personal, academic, social, and other problems. The emphasis, as a rule, is on preventive measures rather than on intensive or long-term treatment of students manifesting marked mental ill-health. An effort is made to ascertain the presence of problems before they become serious and to inaugurate constructive activities in areas of student life where problems of an emotional nature most frequently are encountered.

THE CASE OF RICHARD STEELE

Mr. Steele came to the Bureau on his own initiative toward the middle of the first semester of last year. He was a first-semester Freshman, having enrolled in the University under the Korean G.I. Bill. Previous to his entering the University, he had served two years in the Army.

The client presented a problem of academic difficulty. He stated that he had just received two deficiency reports in his engineering subjects and was in danger of failing a third.

His problem was amplified by the fact that under the Korean G.I. Bill, he was entitled to only one change of educational objective. He felt this restriction strongly, understanding that one more mistake in vocational planning might disqualify him permanently from further educational benefits under the Bill. He stated that he had always experienced difficulty with highly theoretical course work and had had particular trouble with mathematics. He had no idea when he undertook a curriculum in engineering, that he would be subjected to so much abstract theory and mathematics.

The client's test scores indicated that he had the intellectual ability to complete successfully a college degree, provided that he were sufficiently motivated to apply himself energetically to the course work. His interest patterns were unlike those of engineers but were very similar to those of highly skilled practitioners of technical trades. In discussing this fact, the client revealed that this is what he had in mind when he enrolled in engineering.

At this point, the counselor took the opportunity to introduce some

other alternatives to the client. The possibilities of industrial education were explored, as well as opportunities available through training in a technical school of less than college level. In this regard, the client felt that his personal needs would better be served through working toward a college degree. Therefore, the counselor directed the client to some pertinent literature in our files and arranged an interview for him with a professor in the department of industrial education.

The client seemed delighted with the type of work he would be doing in industrial education, stating that this was what he had in mind from the first. Our last report indicated that he had transferred into industrial education and was showing signs of better academic adjustment to the college situation.

Typical of the more comprehensive counseling centers is the one in operation at Michigan State College. There the center is under the supervision of the dean of students and is staffed by a director of counseling, thirteen full-time counselors, two full-time psychometrists, a receptionist, and the necessary clerical workers. The problems of students dealt with include vocational (academic) planning, inadequate academic progress, and problems of a personal or tension-producing nature (feelings of inadequacy, fear, guilt, etc.). Students who are seriously disturbed emotionally are referred to what is called the personal adjustment clinic, where the services of a psychiatrist and psychiatric social workers are available.

At the University of Minnesota the position is taken by the personnel of the Student Counseling Bureau that, although they see and counsel students manifesting rather severe emotional disturbances, their principal function is one of co-operating with other departments of the university in furthering the over-all development of the student body. The assumption is made that the counselor can assist the student in learning more about himself, his needs, and his capacities, also that he (the counselor) is in a position to help the student define and clarify his problems with a view to adopting alternative solutions and developing judgment-making skills needed in coping with them. Students who make deviate scores on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (given to all students at the time of entrance) are selected for special attention by counselors. The Counseling Bureau includes two clinical psychologists, who provide a convenient point of liaison with the Mental Hygiene Clinic.

The following case, studied at the College of the City of New

York, is suggestive of counseling services for students characterized by emotional maladjustment:

A professor of speech surmised that a Senior in his third-term speech class had problems deeper than those manifested by his stage fright. He suggested that the student come to a counselor for a discussion of the difficulty.

The neurotic individual can always be depended upon to think too much of self. Indeed, the first interview with the student referred to above revealed that not only did he have the usual shakiness, perspiring, and quivering of voice during the rendering of his speech but he was troubled with diarrhea a few days prior to the day the speech was to be made. He had similar somatic difficulty before attending any social function. The professor could help the student overcome the stage fright, but time and perhaps training did not permit his probing into factors contributing to the gastro-intestinal problem.

It was found, also, that the student had had traumatic experiences every term all through grammar school when eye tests were administered. Each time [he and his classmates came] . . . up for the test, the nurse required him to remove his glasses before reading the chart. A myopic condition prevented him [from] naming the letters accurately. The ridicule of his playmates was more than he could endure. It seems that a simple speech situation during a routine eye examination in the presence of jeering classmates in grade school was giving him trouble as an adult in a speech class in college.

During fifteen counseling sessions, he was helped to evaluate his extreme feelings of unworthiness which were partially brought on by the role he tried to play in the family. The father was unemployed during the depression, and the mother would reveal her anxieties to her son. Being only a preadolescent, he was quite powerless to alleviate the financial situation and, as a result, felt inadequate for meeting the demands of life about him. The stage fright was only one of several manifestations of his feelings of incapability, and when he began to evaluate his experiences from the point of view of an adult, the stage fright was one of the first symptoms to clear up. The speech professor stated that by the end of three or four weeks he had forgotten the student had had a problem of fright.[31]

The Counseling Center at the University of Southern California includes among its functions (a) the arranging of opportunities for new students to meet with academic advisors, (b) the provision for both undergraduate and graduate students to secure advice and

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[31] LaVange Hunt Richardson, "Co-operation between the Psychological Counselor and the Speech Teacher," Speech Teacher, II (1953), 7-11.

assistance with personal problems, (c) counseling services, and (d) co-operation with the University Health Service (which includes the services of four psychiatrists) on problems involving mental health. A unique feature at this counseling center is the provision of special counseling services for students from abroad offered by the Foreign Student Adviser and the Panhellenic Administrator. An interfraternity counselor also is available.

Testing Programs. In the case of most of the colleges and universities responding to the present survey, the testing program is an integral part of the counseling center. In many instances a counselor conducts an interview and, in the light of the problems disclosed, decides on a testing program. The tests in question, which are in addition to those taken upon gaining entrance to the institutions, may include measurements of intelligence, achievement, interest, aptitude, and the student's needs and problems with a view to aiding him in gaining a better understanding of himself and the dynamics of the problems involved. Somewhat typical of institutions conducting this type of testing service are Oregon State College and the College of the City of New York. A case illustrative of the testing program at the latter institution follows:

Julius entered City College in September, 1946, with a degree-objective of Bachelor of Science. He had originally planned upon becoming an optometrist. His percentile ratings are as follows:

	Percentile
High-school average	37
A.C.E. Psychological Exam:	
Q	15
L	34
Total	22
General Verbal Ability	20
General Mathematical Ability	1
Technical Verbal Ability	7
Ability to Comprehend Scientific Materials	14
Social Studies Vocabulary	30
Composite Score	0

His father is in the rubberizing textile business, owns his own establishment, and was influential in persuading his son to consider optometry. It is frequently noted that our students whose parents are in the garment trades or proprietors of small shops are encouraged to enter the professions rather than train for some phase of business.

Julius was getting along fairly well in college in spite of low test scores, but he had decided to consider a change to the Bachelor of Busi-

ness Administration Degree. Since optometry stresses mathematics and colleges for such training are rigid in requirements for entrance, since he scored no higher than the first percentile on the general mathematics test and below the twentieth percentile on the quantitative (Q) of the A.C.E. and the science comprehension tests, a science course hardly seemed advisable. He would probably have difficulty in maintaining himself in a business course, but chances seemed greater for him to succeed there because he scored at the thirtieth percentile on the social-studies vocabulary and at the thirty-fourth percentile on the verbal part of the A.C.E. The fact that he had a business to enter was also a factor which was considered when he was encouraged to make the change of degree.[32]

In some instances, the combined counseling and testing bureau also offers routine testing assistance to the office of admissions, the testing and scoring activities of the academic departments of the university, and perhaps to military, state, and national testing programs. As an illustration may be cited the University of Missouri, which conducts a comprehensive program in this respect. A school may, as in the case of the University of Southern California, conduct a testing bureau as such, under the auspices of the dean of students, which has for its functions, among others, (a) testing and reporting scores of tests for the purpose of the admission of students to the university, to credential programs in the school of education, and to standing in the graduate school, (b) administering classification tests for the various liberal-arts departments, (c) administering testing programs for the school of law, the school of medicine, the Naval ROTC and the Selective Service, and (d) gathering and reporting test information for guidance purposes to the office of the dean of students and the deans of the various schools and colleges.

Courses in Personal Adjustment. A few of the colleges and universities under examination offer as part of their personnel services one or more courses dealing with problems of mental health for the express purpose of assisting students of various academic levels in improving their personal and social adjustment. The emphasis in these courses is not so much on knowledge as on the development of insight regarding the motivation of behavior and on constructive behavior itself.

One such course, given at Oregon State College, is described as

[32] LaVange Hunt Richardson, "Guidance for College Students," *Educational Administration and Supervision,* XXXV (October, 1949), 363-74.

focusing on "self-understanding and self-development," with special attention being given to "students' habits, attitudes, emotional problems, and efficient learning in college." The students in this course (*a*) evaluate their present level of self-understanding by sharing experiences with others, by comparing their self-estimates with results of personality tests, and by studying case histories; (*b*) improve their skill in handling problems of an emotional nature by noting how other people have developed emotionally, studying the methods and mechanisms used in ego-defenses, and working out minor emotional problems in class; and (*c*) improve their social skills by sharing social experiences with others, through role playing in specific problem areas, and by learning how to go about improving social skills. According to the school in question, students have reported the development of such understandings as the influence of parental behavior on a child's personality, why so many people are almost wholly unaware of their inadequacies, that to know a person well is to be more tolerant with him, etc. Typical of the outcomes of the course are the following verbatim student reactions:

WHAT I HAVE LEARNED FROM OUR DISCUSSION
OF PERSONALITIES IN OUR CLASS

I have learned that parents have a great deal to do with an offspring's personality. I also discovered that many people are completely unaware of their own faults until they talk frankly about them.

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From these discussions, I have learned many things. Each of these people had *what seemed* like a simple problem. But after questions were asked of them, many *hidden* points about their family life were discovered, which brought out other facts that had bearing on their personal problems. From just hearing what a problem is, one would hardly ever guess that it could be traced to so many incidents back in a person's life. The kids that were discussed probably never realized that they could do something about their problems if they tried to understand their families more and to see what was causing all the trouble.

.   .   .   .

I've learned that by analyzing a person you can understand and tolerate him better.

I've learned that a person is more at ease when problems are brought out openly—this goes for the whole class in general, also.

.   .   .   .

Many behavior problems can be solved by group discussion where

many facts affecting the person are brought into the open. Such as in X's case where her father and herself were always on guard against each other, but when this was brought into the open, I'm sure X could see, at last, a possible way to solve her problem.

.   .   .   .

I have learned that just looking at a person and recognizing his or her problem is basic; and that after you find out some more facts about their past life and experience it is easier to understand why they behave as they do.

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Family environment causes most of the attitudes of people all through life.

If you stop to consider why a person does the things he does you like him better even if you can't help and sometimes you can.

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From these sessions I have learned that every personality is different, and this seems to be because of all the different backgrounds a person has.

Each person has problems. The family seems to shape the personalities and be the cause of most problems.

I can see from hearing the discussion so far that we need to take our time and try to figure out just exactly why we feel a certain way. Everyone—like me—must try to be patient and understanding of himself.

Judge more slowly. (Give a person a chance.)

A course in mental hygiene conducted at the College of the City of New York in connection with the Department of Student Life is intended to yield as much therapeutic value as possible. Every member of the class is interviewed at least once, and many members voluntarily seek conferences with the instructor with a view to securing help with personal conflicts and problems involving emotional tension. At times six or eight students come together for group counseling in conjunction with individual help.

Mental-Hygiene Clinics. It is not uncommon for colleges and universities to maintain a service for students, usually called the mental-hygiene clinic, designed to deal with problems involving emotional disturbances which are neither so mild that they can be disposed of in a few counseling sessions nor so severe as to require psychiatric attention. As a number of writers[33] have indicated, a

[33] See, for example, Florence M. Young, "The Incidence of Nervous Habits Observed in College Students," *Journal of Personality,* XV (September, 1946), 309-20; and Portia Bell Hume, "Shattered Students in an Atomic Age," *Mental Hygiene,* XXXI (June, 1947), 567-75.

wide variety of symptoms of emotional maladjustment are in evidence in an appreciable (10 to 15 per cent estimated) number of college and university students. These symptoms range from facial or other tics and mild states of anxiety to outright psychoneurotic syndromes or psychotic conditions.

Well known among college mental-hygiene clinics is the one called "A College Adjustment Clinic" at the University of Missouri. At the time of its establishment the purpose of the Clinic was "to meet the needs of the increasing number of students who referred themselves because of emotional symptoms and complaints which were not explained in terms of physical examinations. Its broader objective was to prevent emotional disturbances which threaten the efficiency, happiness, and normal development of the student and to detect the small percentage of students who are seriously in need of extensive professional services not provided by or compatible with the administration of a university clinic." [34] This statement would appear to summarize the usual functions of a mental-hygiene clinic in an institution of higher learning. In this particular instance the students served are required to fill out a preinterview inventory concerned with their previous history, personality traits, and present college activities. It is on the basis of this inventory, at least in part, that students characterized by a wide variety of emotional problems, most of whom come voluntarily, are offered the services of the clinic.

As an example of the studies conducted by the clinic may be mentioned one in which the characteristics of students with problems were compared with those of unselected students. The data disclosed are as follows:

Preinterview blank used; 210 students with emotional problems and 208 unselected students used; age group as whole, 19 years of age; twice as many men as women from cities of 10,000 to 25,000 population.

Findings:

Unselected students are much more socially oriented; have more friends, more fraternity affiliations, social abilities; are more interested in organizations; rate themselves friendly, co-operative; say they like people more often than do students with problems; enjoy dating, belonging to gangs, holding offices; have warm friendships; express positive attitude changes toward social life.

[34] Fred McKinney, "Four Years of a College Adjustment Clinic," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* IX (September, 1945), 203-17.

Problem students showed trends of sensitiveness over lack of leadership, social and athletic abilities and concern over unpopularity; enjoyed being alone; disliked people; were individualistic and shy; have history of no team, club, or gang membership; and are less often members of fraternities or sororities.

Unselected students showed signs of positive emotional expression or happiness; see parents and other family members as agreeable; more frequently mention feeling well and strong.

Problem students rate themselves as moody, lonely, easily hurt, annoyed, discouraged, pessimistic and unhappy; admit more physical complaints.

Unselected students show greater evidence of being objective and realistic; mention positive approaches to problems.

Problem students show inferiority, worry, egocentricity, self-consciousness, idealism, more frequent night dreams, and are more often queer and fantastic.

Unselected students show more evidence of personality integration for unity and balance (mention themselves possessing independence, self-confidence and calmness).

Problem students rate themselves more inhibited, nervous, procrastinating, weak-willed, more willing to avoid responsibilities, easily discouraged.

Unselected students are more motivated and have goals more substantial in nature, such as vocational success, marriage, and graduation from school.[35]

The University of Florida Center of Clinical Services is unique in that it offers services to both university students and to such organizations as the public schools, health departments, the Crippled Children's Commission, the State School for the Deaf and Blind, and other such agencies. Of the various clinics in the Center, the one called the Psychological Clinic obviously is of greatest interest here. This clinic is staffed by three full-time and one half-time clinical psychologists, as well as the usual additional office personnel. The large number of university students seen in a year's time (in a recent year, 587) indicates the scope of this unit in the University of Florida's comprehensive clinical services.

The Michigan State College maintains a Mental Hygiene Clinic in which students, who were referred by the Health Center because of complaints which turned out to be functional rather than somatic,

[35] Fred McKinney, "Case History Norms of Unselected Students and Students with Emotional Problems," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XI (1947), 258-69.

are given help. There are also other sources of referral. In the case of students manifesting marked emotional disturbances, a consulting psychiatrist is available for diagnosis. The Mental Hygiene Clinic is under the direction of a psychiatric social worker who in turn is responsible to the Medical Director of the Student Health Center.

Two other well-known schools will bear mention in this connection, namely, the University of Colorado and Mills College (Oakland, California). Although neither of these institutions has indicated having a mental-hygiene clinic as such, both conduct activities in behalf of their students which are designed to contribute to the latters' mental health. In the case of the University of Colorado, studies of student morale have been made for the purpose of referring individuals coping with serious personal problems to the counseling service. University personnel concerned with the mental-health program co-operate with the University psychiatrist in working out improved ways and means of assisting students in solving their problems. At Mills College the Group Rorschach test is given to all entering students in an effort to locate potential difficulties and a concerted effort is made by the college physician, the college chaplain, the dean of students, and others to "spot" students with emotional disturbances. Incipient cases of mental disorder are sent to the university psychologist and, if sufficiently severe, to a consulting psychiatrist.

Psychiatric Service. In some instances it is difficult to ascertain whether certain of the mental-hygiene services offered by a university are of a psychological or a psychiatric nature. Both clinical psychologists and psychiatrists concern themselves with student problems involving marked emotional disturbance. However, in general it can be said that psychiatric consultation is called for when such a disturbance involves a serious psychoneurotic or psychotic condition.

Colleges and universities differ markedly in the extent to which they offer psychiatric service to students. Often a psychiatrist is employed on a full- or part-time consultant basis in connection with the student health center. This is the case at the University of Southern California, where students manifesting serious maladjustments of personality are referred to the health center and subsequently routed to the psychiatrist, who may either deal with the

case himself or arrange for more extensive treatment elsewhere. Similar service is available at Washington State College but, in this instance, because of the observation that college students vary in their desires to be seen by a physician, a psychologist, or a psychiatrist, all of these personnel are maintained and cases are referred to them on the basis of student preferences.

Following a recent conference with psychiatric personnel, the School of Education at New York University adopted the ensuing criteria (symptomologies) for referral of a student for psychiatric attention: [36] (*a*) signs of preoccupation leading to social isolation, (*b*) impairment of memory or concentration, (*c*) sudden lowering of scholastic standards without adequate explanation, (*d*) excessive cutting of classes by an otherwise reliable student, (*e*) any threat of suicide or of harm to others, (*f*) peculiar or bizarre content of papers submitted in classes, (*g*) evidence of homosexual activities, and (*h*) overactivity and irritability accompanied by repeated exercise of poor judgment. The faculty members concerned recognize that it usually is inadvisable to refer a student to a psychiatrist against his wishes, and they therefore exercise care in order to avoid the possibility of casting a stigma on the student.

The Students' Health Service at the University of Minnesota maintains a staff of four psychiatrists, two psychiatric social workers, and other suitable office personnel. The types of personality problems for which assistance is provided are said to include "the entire gamut of psychiatric illness." Psychotic disturbances are dealt with only diagnostically and for proper referral for therapy.[37] In the case of some students, group therapy is the only treatment they receive or (it is believed) are likely to profit by. For other students, individual treatment hours are scheduled during the time they are participating in a group situation. It has been concluded at this university that, "Group therapy is possible at all therapeutic levels, but at any level is only as sound as the therapist."

[36] See Dana L. Farnsworth, "Psychiatry and Higher Education," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIX (October, 1952), 266-71; and Earl D. Bond, "The Student Council Study," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIX (January, 1952), 11-16.

[37] Robert C. Hinckley, "College Mental Hygiene and Group Therapy," *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, III (January, 1953), 88-96.

A study [38] of the psychiatric services offered by the health centers of thirty-one universities which was made at the University of Washington (Seattle) disclosed the information that "twenty-six of these health centers provide some psychiatric services for university students." Among the schools reporting such services, fifteen stated that psychotherapy cannot be obtained in any other way on their campuses. Four schools listed the university hospital or medical school and seven listed psychologists as providing psychotherapy for students.

Health Service. It is common practice among colleges and universities to provide health services, usually in the form of a health center, adequately staffed with medical doctors, registered nurses, and other necessary personnel. The functions of such a center, for example that of the University of Southern California, include (*a*) conducting health examinations for new students, (*b*) administering a program of health examinations for students seeking teaching credentials, (*c*) providing clinical care and bed-patient care for illnesses of short duration, (*d*) acting in an advisory capacity for students needing extensive medical care, and (*e*) providing emergency medical treatment for all university personnel.

A primary function of the Student Health Service at another institution of higher learning, Washington State College, is stated as that of treating acute types of illnesses and injuries. Responsibility is not accepted for the treatment of chronic-type illnesses of relatively long standing. However, the service does include the promotion of a program of general health education for all students. As a third example, Oregon State College names as its principal functions in the area of student health, health education, the preservation of health, and the prevention of disease, including such associated functions as the detection and correction of remedial defects, advice and treatment of illness and injury, and the detection, isolation, and treatment of contagious diseases.

The functions of the health center in most universities and colleges would seem to be similar to those here described. A survey of the literature on this subject indicates the presence of a concerted

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[38] Hartvig A. Dahl, "Summary Report on Questionnaire concerning University Health Center Psychiatric Clinics." Unpublished manuscript, University of Washington.

effort on the part of institutions of higher learning to do every-thing within their power to safeguard the physical health of their students.[39]

Other Personnel Services to Students. Many colleges and uni-versities provide a variety of services, which they believe contribute to student morale and mental health, other than those delineated above. Some of these services no doubt loom large in the program for promoting mental health in the case of students coping with certain needs and troublesome problems.

Prominent among the personnel services in question are those concerned with (*a*) improvement in the basic skills (reading, writ-ing, arithmetic, language usage), (*b*) vocational guidance, (*c*) coun-seling centers for veterans, (*d*) financial aid, (*e*) part-time work and later employment, (*f*) religious activities, and (*g*) marriage and family counseling. All of these services are believed to be essential to a comprehensive mental-hygiene program for college students. In some instances they may mean the difference between adequate personality adjustment and marked emotional maladjustment. Many of them are offered as an integral part of either a counseling center or a mental-hygiene clinic.

Conclusions

That an appreciable percentage of college students in American institutions of higher learning are disturbed by problems of an emo-tional nature is evident. These problems can be described as occupy-ing a continuum extending from mild anxieties or feelings of in-feriority through psychomatic disorders or manifestations of hostil-ity, to symptoms of psychoneurosis or even psychosis. That colleges and universities are aware of this situation and that they have taken steps both to cope with and alleviate such a stumbling block to the mental health of their student populations also is a matter of record. At the rate counseling centers, mental-hygiene clinics, psychiatric services, and other accoutrements of a comprehensive mental-hygiene program in college have been developing, it is safe to say

[39] See, for example, Frederick A. Olesen, "Health Service to College Men," *Journal of Health and Physical Education*, XVI (May, 1945), 236, 289-91; and Dana L. Farnsworth, "Health in Colleges," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCXLVIII (March, 1953), 543-52.

that the future augurs increasingly well for the personal and social adjustment of the nation's potential college graduates and more highly educated scholars.

Proposals for improvement, perhaps, should take the form of additional personnel services along the lines which already have evolved and might well include the contributions of more and more counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and other needed personnel who are especially prepared to deal with the needs and problems presented by the college student population. Such student personnel functionaries would be concerned with the needs and everyday problems of "normal" students as well as with those seen in more amplified form in young people marked by emotional maladjustments. In fact, the recurring needs of all their students would be the concern of the members of a comprehensive and well organized "team" of mental-hygiene workers. The future possibilities in this direction seem most promising.
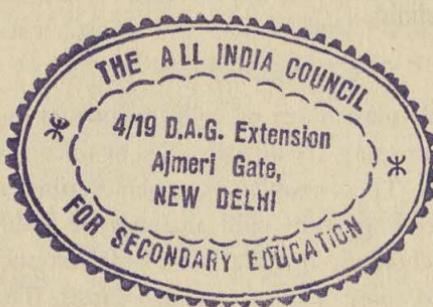
Evaluation of a Mental-Health Program

HERMAN L. SHIBLER

Introduction

The Need for Evaluative Techniques. Public school programs today make headline news. Public education is big business. As enrolments increase, more and more of the tax dollar will be required to meet mounting expenditures. This means that taxing authorities as well as the general public will sharply scrutinize each area of the school program and demand that it justify its existence. The school mental-health program will be no exception. At the present time, we have no adequate techniques for measuring the effectiveness of a mental-health program. However, evaluative means must be found if the program is to grow and become increasingly important in our public school system.

Problems in Evaluation. Slowly, over the centuries, scientists have applied mathematics to distance, area, volume, heat, power, electricity, atomic energy, and other physical phenomena and have evolved exact units of measurement of universal acceptance. Most of these exact units apply to the physical and mechanical sciences. Few, if any, have been evolved for the correct measurement of mental and social phenomena. One searches in vain for exact units that might be applied in measuring the quality of a mental-health program of a school system. True, such a program can be measured in terms of the number of persons employed in the program, the number of pupils served, the per unit cost, and other numerical data. Such data are essential, but they seldom reveal the underlying merits of the program. In order to reveal hidden and less tangible values, a more penetrating appraisal is desirable. It is generally accepted that such values do exist and that they exist in some amount and can, therefore, to some extent, be evaluated. That

which cannot be measured in exact units can be judged and esti-
mated with some precision. This can be done by arbitrarily setting
up certain evaluative criteria against which a mental-health program
is judged or measured as to its effectiveness.

Criteria

1. *Is there an awareness of need on the part of the general public?*

When a community is confronted with a social problem, how
does it begin to search for a solution to its problem? The problem
may be interracial strife, an alarming increase in juvenile delin-
quency, the inadequacy of the local school program, or the need
for a greater acceptance of parental responsibility. If the social
unit feels uncomfortable, how does it react to its situation? Are
there many false starts, running down dead-end streets, and much
thrashing around with little progress? Or does the community make
use of its outlets for expression such as newspapers, radio, television,
church pulpits, study groups, service clubs, parent-teacher organiza-
tions, and the schools? Does it become aware of its problem and
react intelligently to it? This is of utmost importance.

2. *Is there adequate financial support of local and state programs?*

What constitutes adequate financial support for a mental-health
program obviously depends upon the need. The nature of the
community to which this criterion is being applied must be care-
fully considered. The sociological and economic background of
the people that make up the community and the number of referrals
from school officials, courts, and medical authorities are two of the
factors determining need. Private facilities that are available for the
care of mental illness must be taken into account. In addition, costs
of programs for the prevention and treatment of mental illness vary
with the kind of plan instituted in a given community.

3. *Is there public support through individual and organizational
    services—forums, churches, local mental-health societies, and
    state mental-health societies?*

If a community is sensitive to its problem of the mentally ill,
then we will find in that community an active local mental-health
society with a well-planned program that reaches into many areas
of community life. Close co-operation will be found between the
local mental-health society and the state society. They will assist

each other in their endeavors. Forums and study groups will be active in helping point up the need and in making the community mental-health conscious. Churches, women's organizations, and service clubs will sense their responsibility for the total community program. Business and industrial leaders will give of their services and financial means in furthering the mental-health program.

4. *Is there an awareness of need on the part of the faculties of the school system?*

Do the teachers accept the fact that all behavior, whether normal or abnormal, is motivated behavior and do they act accordingly? Are they objective in their attitude toward behavior problems? Do they sense their inadequacy in solving certain behavior problems and show a willingness to accept expert help? Do they co-operate with their professional colleagues in working on mental-health problems? Are they calling at the library for the latest literature in the field of child growth and development? Do they participate in workshops, seminars, and forums dealing with mental-health problems? Is there a close working relationship between the teachers and the parents? Do the parents and other community groups feel welcome at the school? Is it a team proposition? Are teachers members of the local and state mental-health societies?

5. *Is there adequate training of the school staff?*

a) Teacher-training programs in colleges and universities.

Are teacher-training institutions offering enough of the right kind of undergraduate mental-health courses to at least sensitize the student to problems of the kind that will be encountered in his teaching career? Is there enough emphasis on mental health throughout the formal teacher-training courses to make the prospective teacher aware of its importance? Are there sufficient child guidance centers or clinics in teacher-training institutions to give trainees an opportunity for observation of mental-health cases?

b) In-service training programs in the area of mental health.

Does the administration make provision for in-service training programs in mental health? Do teachers participate in such programs? Are democratic procedures adhered to in setting up these programs? Are teachers encouraged by the administration to enrol in late-afternoon or evening courses in mental health? Do school psychologists lead discussion groups of teachers? Are local psy-

chiatrists used for lectures and consultative services? Is adequate literature in the mental-health field made available to teachers?

6. *Are there available adequate services of expert consultants and psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, visiting teachers, guidance clinics, and institutional facilities?*

Obviously the amount of these services depends upon the need. Also, the extent to which the community and the instructional staff of the school system are aware of this need may influence the action of school authorities relative to the provision of these special services. If 5 per cent of the pupils are identified as problem cases in need of expert guidance, then we have an objective guide as to the amount of such services required.[1] The philosophy and policies upon which a school program is based will also be influential in determining the number of experts to be employed. The financial ability of the community to pay for such services will, of course, determine the amount of money that will be available for this purpose.

7. *Is there an observable change in the behavior of the student body?*

Is there a discernible decrease in the number of drop-outs, the number of truancy cases, disciplinary problems, juvenile delinquency, and racial and intercultural tensions? Is there an increase in voluntary pupil participation in extracurricular and recreational activities? Is there a decrease in the hostility of children toward the school? This could be evidenced by a decrease in the number of school break-ins and the breaking of windows. Is the general feeling of the student body wholesome toward the school program, teachers, and parents? Is there an increase in the utilization of special school services which would imply a growing awareness of personal deficiencies? Is there an increase in the basic educational skills commensurate with the abilities of the pupils? Are controversial issues studied by the student body without the show of great prejudice?

8. *Are there curricular changes that better meet individual and group needs?*

Is there an increased emphasis on adjusting the school program

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[1] Robert H. Felix, "The Teacher's Role in Mental-Health Defense," *School Life*, XXXI (January, 1949), 3.

to the child's abilities? Is there a willingness on the part of the principal and the teachers to provide the necessary adjustment of the curriculum even though it results in changing traditional routines and possibly major inconveniences? Are there multiple-track curriculums for the mentally superior, mentally retarded, physically handicapped, and the socially maladjusted? Does the curriculum provide for using the community as a laboratory? Is there co-operative planning on the part of the pupil, the teacher, and the parent? Does the curriculum center attention upon the child and his individual needs or upon subject matter without regard to individual differences? Is provision made for the instruction of children in mental-health principles either in health education or in family-life education courses?

9. *Is there a comprehensive program that is broad enough in prevention and treatment of mental illness to meet the varying needs of the school and the community?*

Do the school and the community provide preschool clinics, premarriage counseling, prenatal clinics, parent study groups, child guidance clinics, remedial reading clinics, sufficient psychiatric care, hospitals for the mentally ill, an ongoing recreation program, and services of personal, social, and educational guidance counselors? Is there adequate support by the school and the community of such social agencies as family service, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y.M.C.A., alcoholic clinics, and social hygiene associations?

10. *Is there an observable improvement in the working conditions for teachers and is the environment for students conducive to good mental health?*

Are there democratic attitudes within the school on the part of teachers and administrators? Do teachers have a voice in forming system-wide policies? Is there a sense of belonging to the group on the part of the staff? Is there an improvement in staff attitude toward mental-health concepts? Is there an increased ability of administrators and teachers to delegate authority down the line? Do staff members discuss controversial issues unafraid? Is there a board of education policy on controversial issues that protects the teacher? Are intercultural and interracial issues being faced and solved intelligently? Are teachers respected and treated the same as any other citizens in the community? Are there facilities for

helping teachers who are emotionally disturbed? Are teachers and pupils properly housed, and do they have adequate materials with which to work? Do staff members receive appropriate recognition professionally and financially?

11. *Is the mental-health program having a noticeable effect upon the community in general?*

Is there a realistic attitude on the part of the community toward such abnormal personalities or conditions as mental deficiency and mental illness, delinquency, aberrant sexual behavior, and crime? Is there an increase in the community's ability to discuss and to accept without prejudice controversial issues? Is there a decrease in racial tensions and discriminations? Is there a decrease in the divorce rate, juvenile delinquency, and racial "incidents" and crime?

12. *Are there provisions for a program of continuous evaluation of the mental-health program?*

Are the communications channels of the school system and those between the schools and the community so set up that all can be aware of what is being done, thought, and felt throughout the schools and the community? Is there a functioning research department in the school system? Is there constant checking with various areas of the school system? Are there experimental studies in progress with controlled groups? Is there close co-operation in the evaluation program between the school and social, governmental, and private welfare agencies of the community?

Application of the Above Criteria to a City School System

Obviously no school system or community is adequately meeting the above criteria or there would not be the many personal and social problems plaguing mankind today. However, these criteria may be used as guides to better mental health in any school system or community. They are objectives toward which our schools and communities must strive if we are to solve many of our problems.

In applying them to a school system and a community in the brief space available here, only a few examples can be given. The reader may judge how well the criteria are being met in the city of Indianapolis, with a population of 450,000 which includes a public school enrolment of 70,000 students. What is more important, the criteria should be applied to the reader's own local situation.

1. *Is there an awareness of need of additional social services on the part of the general public?*

The alternative to a survey which actually samples and estimates public awareness of social needs is an enumeration of organizations and an analysis of the activities over a period of several years which reflect community awareness of the need of such social services. In evaluating the number of activities of various organizations, one must attempt to make allowance for cross-memberships. It is reasonable to assume that forums sponsored by a local chamber of commerce and a labor union would involve different people. However, the membership of a local mental-health society would include persons from both the chamber of commerce and labor unions.

The simple enumeration will be misleading, if one disregards the fact that organizations vary widely in the amount and kind of action which is the result of discussion. An activity that indicates awareness is different when it occurs in an organization which has a history of successfully undertaking and completing projects than it is in an organization which does not have such a history. An expression of awareness is a different thing when it occurs in an organization of intellectually inclined, articulate people than when it occurs in an organization of different kinds of people. The enumeration should cover all social strata of the community, including all occupational, fraternal, special interests, and religious groups.

Although Indianapolis is not yet meeting effectively all of its many problems, the temperament of the city is such that when a specific problem confronts the community it reacts quickly and effectively. For example, when a survey revealed the need for additional hospital facilities, the community raised over $12,000,000 by popular subscription in a year to provide the facilities needed. Facilities for the mentally ill will be doubled. Hundreds of organizations participated in this united effort. In the fall of 1953, during a period of sixteen hours, $240,000 was raised by a telethon to expand the program of research and care of cerebral palsy victims. The annual community chest is made up of fifty different agencies, liberally subscribed to, as are many other drives, such as heart, cancer, polio, and Red Cross.

The city's interracial committee has been effective in easing racial tension. The parent-teacher council is alert and co-operative

in promoting better schools. The school system has dozens of advisory groups assigned to various school programs. These committees work willingly and effectively and contribute time and money to the various educational projects.

Newspapers and radio and television stations give liberal space and time in furthering civic and educational projects. If a study were made of the local newspapers and radio and television stations, it would reveal the functioning of hundreds of organizations dealing with social, civic, and educational problems. Many of these groups are most effective; others seem to make little or no contribution to the general welfare.

Extensive research in the field of mental health is being conducted at the Indiana University Medical Center, located in Indianapolis. Indications are that it will prove valuable in the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of mental illness.

2. *Is there adequate financial support of local and state programs?*

There are two main types of financial support for the various mental-health programs. The first is money allocated by the state legislature (including school funds) for the establishment, maintenance, and improvement of the various facilities. These may range from state hospitals for the mentally ill to commissions whose functions are to study such aspects of mental health as alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, etc. The second type is voluntary, private contributions to agencies dealing with mental health such as some of the Red Feather Agencies.

The adequacy of financial support may be evaluated through comparison with other communities and states. For example, the per capita maintenance expenditure of the state hospitals varies from New York State, which spends $962.45, to Indiana, which spends $473.57, to Kentucky, which spends $372.45.[2] Of course, the adequacy of financial support of state facilities must be determined in accordance with need and private funds provided through contributions for the support of mental-health agencies.

The budget should be further analyzed to determine what portion is spent for the upkeep of existing facilities and services. In addition, one must know if there are many needs beyond these already

[2] *Patients in Mental Institutions.* Washington: Federal Security Agency, 1949.

provided. Also to be evaluated is the adequacy and maintenance of the physical facilities of the various mental organizations. The adequacy of financial support, for example, of a state hospital, would be measurable, in part, in terms of the overcrowding of already existing facilities. One would want to examine the actual condition of the physical facilities to determine whether maximum use is being achieved.

Various professional groups, such as the American Medical Association and American Psychiatric Association, have established requirements which they deem as minimum essentials for an adequate facility. In order to be recognized by these groups, one must maintain certain staff and facilities. The American Psychiatric Association will, upon request of the head of the state mental hospital system, provide inspection and rating of the facilities. The state must pay 80 per cent of this expense. The National Institute of Mental Health will provide a similar service in the form of a survey with recommendations for improvements.

Another comparison that should be made is that of salary schedules for professional people and other staff members; for example, salaries in the state hospitals in contrast with those of hospitals in other cities and states. Along this same line, one should investigate the scholarships provided for the training of professional people. In evaluating the scholarship program one should consider whether this provides for initial undergraduate training or for further professional training on the graduate level.

The Indianapolis Public Schools provide $254,213.00 of their operating budget of $22,335,909.10 for the services of five psychological consultants and thirty-eight social workers, consultants, and a supervisor. Also taken from this amount is $10,000 which is contributed to the Marion County Child Guidance Clinic so that psychiatric services will be available to the schools. According to criterion No. 6, this is not sufficient support of the school mental-health program in Indianapolis.

3. *Is there public support through private and voluntary organizational services—forums, churches, local mental-health societies, state mental-health societies, etc.?*

There are indications of public support of the mental-health program, both in Indianapolis and throughout Indiana. The state of

Indiana maintains ten state hospitals and five mental-health clinics. Most of these clinics are also supported by funds from other sources.

Located in Indianapolis are the Marion County Child Guidance Clinic and the Riley Hospital Child Guidance Clinic. The Indianapolis Public Schools contribute $10,000 a year to the support of the Marion County Child Guidance Clinic. The Indianapolis General Hospital has an out-patient clinic and psychopathic ward for diagnosis of emotional problems. The LaRue D. Carter Memorial Hospital, a new state mental institution, is planning an out-patient clinic for children and adults.

Indications of city-wide support for the mental-health program are also shown by the presence of an Advisory Committee for Juvenile Aid, an Advisory Committee to Social Service, radio programs, television programs, and newspaper articles and columns.

The Marion County Association for Mental Health provides a program of education and volunteer service to teach the public about mental health and to promote higher standards in state mental institutions. On the state level, the Indiana Association for Mental Health maintains a library of films and literature and offers aid in organization to local community groups.

The Indianapolis Health and Welfare Council is a voluntary association of about one hundred social agencies that promotes research, education, and service in special fields, among them, mental health.

The Indianapolis Church Federation maintains a Social Service Department which has a committee on family life and offers to present programs and films to groups. The Federation also has a referral service for persons with problems.

The Family Service Association is one of the organizations supported by the Community Chest. This agency, employing skilled case workers, lends assistance to families with problems. The Association also has a family-life education program which is available to community groups such as parent-teacher associations. The Catholic Charities Bureau and the Jewish Social Services, Inc., have similar programs.

The YMCA and YWCA, through their educational programs, are promoting community interest in the problems of mental health.

Settlement houses work with families in their immediate neigh-

borhoods. These institutions have both educational and recreational programs to meet community needs.

The Social Hygiene Association works closely with mental health agencies. This organization also promotes healthy family life through participation in school and community-wide programs.

The Indiana Council for Exceptional Children promotes a better understanding of exceptional children by means of educational programs and presentation of well-qualified speakers.

The Indianapolis community mental-health program, as measured against this criterion, shows a weakness in three major aspects: (*a*) lack of co-ordination of all existing facilities, (*b*) no wealthy individuals or foundations willing to contribute large grants of private funds for research and programs, and (*c*) the absence of a strong undercurrent of public feeling regarding the importance of mental health.

4. *Is there an awareness of need on the part of the faculties of the school system?*

In the Indianapolis public school system in recent years, an increasing awareness of the valuable information which a psychologist can make available to the educator has been noted. This has been determined from an analysis of requests from teachers for psychological services and from conferences between teachers and social workers. Both have increased considerably. Administrators and teachers give evidence that they are aware that the psychologist can assist them in classifying pupils into groups and can indicate the kinds of curriculums and grade placement best suited to individuals. They also are more generally aware of the many complex symptoms of maladjustments, both in early and advanced stages, in children. A number of the reasons and symptoms mentioned by those requiring psychological services have been analyzed and classified. A few examples of these classifications are: mentally retarded, bright, physically handicapped, feelings of inferiority, feelings of insecurity, truancy, lying, daydreaming, and immaturity.

Awareness of need for an adequate mental-health program may be determined in these various ways:

1) Faculties may request services that are not available. For example, Indianapolis teachers have voiced the need for more remedial reading services.

2) A survey of principals and teachers can be used to determine individual and school needs.

3) The demand that teachers make to enrol in courses in child growth and development.

4) The professional courses which teachers desire.

5) The types of professional books teachers request from libraries.

6) Teacher participation in professional organizations, their programs, and their platforms.

7) A request by teachers for programs, forums, conferences and other facilities on the subject of mental health.

8) The use teachers make of available psychological services.

9) Willingness of the school system to make accommodations for a program to improve existing conditions.

10) Number and kinds of psychological referrals.

11) A genuine desire to help the child rather than to dispose of a disagreeable problem.

In the academic year 1952-53, several hundred more requests for psychological services were received from teachers than could be processed. There is a high percentage of teachers enrolled in the Marion County Association for Mental Health which acts as a lay group to stimulate interest in the community.

Each March, the Indianapolis Public Schools hold an in-service educational conference for all teachers in the system. Teachers attend general and sectional meetings to discuss various educational and administrative problems and common objectives of the school system. An emphasis on good mental health has been injected into these meetings in recent years. Last year, the pupil-personnel section of this conference, carrying out this mental-health emphasis, included sessions on social service, guidance, and special education.

There is an increasing awareness on the part of the faculties relative to the importance of mental health. However, this awareness must be constantly stimulated.

5. *Is there adequate training of the school staff?*

a) Teacher-training programs in colleges and universities: A study [3] of the requirements in psychology and other professional courses specified for state teacher licensing in the United States indicates that only two courses are required in most states: elementary

[3] Robert C. Woellner, and M. Aurilla Wood, *Requirements for Certification of Teachers, Counselors, Librarians, Administrators, 1953-54.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953 (eighteenth edition).

psychology (or child growth and development) and educational psychology. Indiana follows in this respect, requiring only these two courses in the field of psychology for state licensing of teachers.

The catalogues of the universities and colleges in Indiana, as well as those of the teacher-education institutions in other states, show that the larger schools offer a greater number of courses in all fields of psychology than do the smaller colleges. In fact, many of the smaller colleges offer nothing in the field of mental hygiene, personality development, or psychology of adolescence. However, although the larger colleges and universities offer a wider range of courses, it was found by talking to people in the departments that relatively few of the students majoring in education enrolled in them. Their time had to be spent largely on required courses in subject matter and education. One professor stated that he doubted if more than 5 per cent of the prospective teachers graduating from his university took more than these two required courses.

Two courses in psychology might not be inadequate if they provide thorough understanding of child growth and development and mental health. However, a survey of the courses of study and text-books used in introductory and educational psychology classes emphasizes the fact that relatively little time is spent on these fields. For the most part, it is improbable that more than two weeks of the two semesters are spent for this purpose. Moreover, the fact that courses in psychology are offered does not necessarily prove that the need is met. Certainly we need to know the content matter of the courses, but more particularly, the training, other than academic, of the people teaching them. Do the professors themselves have a broad experience and understanding of the field? Have they at some time or other been connected with a clinic? Are they able to present a wealth of concrete, practical illustrations? From our study, although admittedly limited, it would appear that such is not the case.

Perhaps another phase of the problem should be mentioned here, namely, that teacher-training institutions are not screening prospective candidates for teaching. Certainly, if we are to have well-balanced, integrated personalities in our teachers, we should do the screening at the earliest possible moment. This seems to be a problem to which most educators have paid little, if any, attention.

b) In-service training programs in the area of mental health: We have noted that colleges and universities appear to pay little, if any, attention to developing in prospective teachers an understanding of mental health and good mental-health procedures as well as a better understanding of child growth and development. It would appear that the solution for meeting these needs thus must rest with an adequate in-service training program in each school system. Here again, there should be a careful evaluation of what the program actually is and how successful it is in meeting the needs of the group. Teachers are often encouraged by the administration to enrol in evening courses in this field in the universities. Unfortunately, most of these courses are at an undergraduate level; therefore, the teacher who has already secured a Bachelor's degree is reluctant to enrol in them, since enrolment in a course for graduate credit will apply toward an advanced degree and a resulting increment in salary. In our older city school systems, it must be recognized that there are wide differences in the amount and type of training of teachers. Some still do not have their Bachelor's degree, while others received it many years ago when little, if any, emphasis was placed upon mental-health practices. A 10 per cent random sampling to determine the year in which our Indianapolis teachers earned the Bachelor's degree, revealed the following:

1950-1953 (4 years)	56
1945-1949	46
1940-1944	40
1935-1939	25
1930-1934	31
1925-1929	22
1920-1924	10
1915-1919	11
1910-1914	1
No degree	7

The same sampling found that the average year in which principals secured the Bachelor's degree was twenty years earlier than that of the teachers' group.

The need for encouraging enrolment in any of these courses is simply this: There is a need for the teacher to understand children and their behavior and the relationship of one child to another, as

well as her relationship to them and their relationship to her. A classroom consists of a group engaged in active interactions among each other, with each child affecting the others and the teacher affecting all.

Recognizing the training deficiency of teachers in our colleges and universities, the Indianapolis Public Schools, in co-operation with Purdue University, from January 24 through May 23, 1951, offered a course in mental hygiene for teachers in which over 400 teachers and principals enrolled. This course consisted of seventeen class meetings, including eight lectures, with question-and-answer periods, and nine work sessions, with the group divided as follows: elementary teachers with students in the five-to-nine age group; elementary teachers with students in the ten-to-fourteen age group; elementary-school principals; and high-school teachers and principals. College credit was offered. Topics included the following: the teacher's role in promoting mental health, criteria of health behavior, constructive discipline, social background of the school child, dynamic relationships within the classroom, the teacher and his environment, the teacher and his personality, why children succeed, and education for what? This was followed in 1952 by a course in the mental hygiene of the school child under the same sponsorship. The second course was made up wholly of lectures by various specialists, both from the university and the community. Likewise, this was offered for credit. Parent-teacher associations co-operated with the school in having their membership attend these classes.

It is obvious that formal lectures are not enough, particularly when they are offered in the large-group situation. There is need to apply the information and to make it practical in specific situations. Conferences and workshops can serve in this respect, in that the situation is less structuralized and formal and there is more opportunity for questions and group discussion. Especially is this important for the beginning teacher. It is very important for small groups of teachers to get together and discuss how to handle children's behavior problems. The teacher should have understanding of group dynamics. Each participant would derive much of value from the experiences of others.

The most useful method of developing real understanding of the individual child and his problems is case conferences and discussions

with teachers and principals. Some of the psychologists in our Indianapolis school system are meeting this need to a limited degree, dictated primarily by the time element. For example, one psychologist, when he has completed his formal study of children referred for behavior-problem reasons, asks the principal to arrange a conference. This consists usually of the principal, the child's teacher or teachers, the school social worker, the psychologist, and often the school nurse. Each presents what he knows of the child and the psychologist presents what he has found through his study. Following this, the group discusses the child's problems and each offers his suggestions as to what can be done to assist in the child's better adjustment. Each assumes certain responsibilities. As a rule, this initial case conference is followed by another a month later to discuss progress and to determine a future program.

This type of conference has been found extremely useful in that the teacher and principal are helped to recognize their importance in the treatment program. They develop an understanding of the dynamics of the child's behavior and a more sympathetic attitude toward him and his problems. Another device of this nature has been used in a number of schools at teachers' meetings of the entire faculty. This has usually occurred when the psychologist has seen several children from the same school and where the problems presented are basically educational in nature. He describes the child and what he has found and then presents to the group the question, "What can we do about it in this school?" It is interesting to note the vast range of reactions to this question. He has experienced complete co-operation—with the teachers volunteering, for example, to do special tutoring in their spare time—as well as a complete lack of it—where the teachers would have nothing to do with the child and criticized the psychologist for not removing the child from the school. In addition, an attempt is made to talk to each teacher so as to provide continued encouragement and to offer suggestions to meet problems which develop.

6. *Are there available adequate services of expert consultants and psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, visiting teachers, guidance clinics, and institutional facilities?*

One must study three phases of the situation to evaluate the adequate availability of expert consultants: (*a*) the availability of per-

sonnel and services; (b) the adequacy of service; and (c) the quality of service.

There are several obvious questions to answer in studying the availability of personnel and services. Are there specialists of psychiatry, psychology, and social work in the community? Are there residential treatment centers for children and adults? Are there professional people in the courts? Ideally, these personnel and services should be available, the number depending on the size of the community.

A community clinic with a staff which includes a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and two psychiatric social workers is considered the minimum facility to serve an area of 100,000 people. The patient in the average clinic waits from four weeks to six months for a consultation, from six months to a year for treatment. There are two major clinics in Indianapolis. One is the James Whitcomb Riley Hospital for Children which is available to any child living in Indiana. The other is the Marion County Child Guidance Clinic which receives some of its support from the Indianapolis Public Schools, some from the Community Chest, and the remainder from state and county contributions. Last year it operated on a budget of approximately $50,000.00.

The cost of care is a major determining factor in terms of availability. There may be adequate availability of professional people, but the cost to the patient may be so great as to make it unattainable.

Figures are available which show the ideal number of professional people deemed necessary for adequate service. Ethel Cornell [4] states that there should be one psychologist for every 3,000 pupils. In the Indianapolis Public Schools there are five psychologists for approximately 70,000 pupils or a ratio of 1 : 14,600. This is the greatest number of psychologists on the school payroll to date. The White House Conference suggested that in the ideal school situation there should be one social worker for each 500 pupils. In actual practice the ratio of one to 1,000 or 1,500 is more common. In the Indianapolis Public Schools, the ratio is 1 : 1,788 pupils. The American Psychiatric Association and other organizations also have

[4] Ethel L. Cornell, *The Work of the School Psychologist.* Albany, New York: Division of Research, State Education Department, 1942.

determined the number of professional personnel they deem as adequate. These figures have been arrived at on a national basis after much study and evaluation. They are available through the American Psychiatric Association, American Psychological Association, American Association of School Social Workers, American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, American Personnel and Guidance Association, and the state departments of education.

The mere presence of personnel does not necessarily mean that an adequate program exists. One may determine the quality of the experts, in part, by evaluating the adequacy of the institution in which they received their training. The various professional organizations (mentioned above) have ratings of the various training establishments in which professional people are trained. Graduation from one of these schools would indicate that they have taken part in a generally approved program. However, the presence and approved training of experts are not the only measures of adequacy. The philosophy and policies of the community, the acceptance of recommendations, and the ability to carry out treatment programs also must be considered.

The availability of experts may also be determined, in part, by comparing local conditions with other cities and states of similar size and population. Salary alone is not the only consideration in securing adequate personnel. Other "drawing cards" such as the opportunity to exchange ideas with and receive stimulation from other professional people are important.

In determining the quality of services, another consideration is the type of commitment procedure through which a person must go in order to receive the services of state mental hospitals. Are these procedures realistic enough to let those who need them obtain this help without a great deal of time and red tape?

In thirty-five states, the mentally ill may be confined to jail while awaiting hospitalization; and in forty states, sheriffs, police, and other law-enforcement officers may be used to take the mentally ill to the hospital. This is far from the ideal situation.

7. *Is there an observable change in the behavior of the student body?*

Perhaps the greatest void in our whole system of educational evaluation lies in the lack of research on attitudes and changes in

attitudes of children, staff, and patrons toward the school situation. Not only is there a need for measuring changes in attitudes but research is also needed in the field of evaluation of overt behavior— the degree of hostility toward the school as expressed in the frequency of broken windows, destructive incidents, truancy, punishment by school authorities—and to determine objective standards to measure the intensity of such behavior.

That there are considerable differences in attitudes and behavior among the student bodies of different schools in the same city can be easily discerned even though an objective study has not been made. Using Indianapolis as an example, two elementary schools, located not too far from each other, are largely middle class, although one is lower while the other is upper. Yet the feeling tone of the schools is at opposite extremes.

In one school, the writer is impressed by the warmth of feeling and rapport. When one opens the door and starts on his way to the principal's office, children smile, say "Hi," or wave their hands as they pass. In the principal's office, there is an informal, friendly atmosphere. Teachers and children enter readily to discuss their problems. On one occasion, the writer was in the office when a delegation of eighth-grade girls came from their room to discuss whether they should or should not come to school with their hair in bobby pins the day of the eighth-grade graduation party. They exhibited no fear of the principal, and they discussed their problem, arriving at an equitable solution. When the principal or teachers walk through the halls, they are greeted as friends. In going to classes the students go in informal groups, talking as they go. Not only do the children like each other and the staff but the staff members like each other! Many of them meet at 7:30 in the morning for coffee, and often there are cakes, cookies, or candies made by the various members and brought in for the others to sample. Almost all the teachers voluntarily eat in the school lunchroom and spend the noon hour in pleasant discussion, often in the principal's office. Rarely does a teacher request transfer out of that school. Certainly the mental and emotional attitudes of that school are healthy.

In the second school, the opposite is true. The children, if met in the halls, never speak to a stranger and never, openly, among

themselves. When classes pass, the teachers march out of their rooms and stand in the center of the wide halls, to see that there is no talking while the children march out in single file, with one shoulder touching the wall. Preparation for living? Yes—if one is to live in a prison! In this school, no one seems to like anyone else— the children complain of the teachers and the teachers of the children. A few of the teachers eat in the lunchroom, but they eat as rapidly as they can and then go their separate ways. At no time has the writer ever seen a child voluntarily come to the principal. It is quite pleasing to know that a large majority of the Indianapolis schools are like the first described.

In the first school, the teachers have good understanding and refer children who present real behavior problems to the psychologist and social worker for study; they are willing and expect to assist in the treatment program. They really want to help the child and will go to all ends to adjust the school program to meet his individual needs. In the other, referral is usually made because the child presents an undesirable behavior pattern. The desire is to get rid of the child, preferably through placement in a special class in another school. Here the school psychologist has reached the conclusion, after many trials, that it is useless even to ask the school to meet the needs of the individual child since so little will be done.

The extracurricular activities as well as the formal educational program play an important part in the preparation of children for everyday living. Here again, there is a need for evaluation. Although the extracurricular program often appears adequate, a study of the individual participation indicates that too often it is the same group of children. The needs of the majority of the other children are not being met. A student senate or student council is a democratic organization and can help children accept responsibility for their behavior. Yet, in some schools, it serves no other purpose than simply to be a rubber stamp for the principal. Too often, it exists because the principal feels that it is an outward indication that he is "democratic." The criterion should be not whether it exists but, rather, what its functions are.

Some indications of good mental-health attitudes are: the extent of pupil participation in organizations, without pressure from adults; the greater sense of democratic participation, as evidenced

by wider participation as office-holders, as apart from the same
small clique that exists in many schools; the increase in participa-
tion of various racial groups; the wide participation of individual
children, as apart from the same child in many activities; the accept-
ance of minority racial groups in the activities of the school.

Perhaps one of the most noticeable changes in student behavior
in the Indianapolis school system has been that toward the various
races. During these past several years, the Indianapolis Public
Schools have been shifting from a segregated school system to an
integrated one, and this could have resulted in much racial tension
and many unsavory incidents. Certainly, there have been minor
incidents, but there has been sufficient wise preparation for the
change that the children have been able to handle them and to work
them out at their own level. Without such preparation, it is doubt-
ful if the shift could have been made. Today, there is an accept-
ance of the Negro student in all of the city schools, something that
was not believed possible a few years ago. The change, of course,
is not complete, but certainly the most dangerous phase of it has
been accomplished. The Negroes, as individuals, are being more
and more accepted throughout the schools and are participating in
all school activities. During the school year 1952-53, a Negro boy
was president of the city's inter-high-school student council.

The 1953 Annual Report of the Juvenile Court of Marion
County, in which Indianapolis is located, shows an increase of 6 per
cent in juvenile delinquency as compared with the national average
which showed an increase of 30 per cent. The Annual Report shows
fewer juvenile delinquency cases here in 1953 than in 1946. Al-
though Indianapolis compares favorably with the national average,
yet much needs to be done on the part of the schools and the
community to provide better facilities for the youth of Indianapolis.
8. *Are there curricular changes that better meet individual and
group needs?*

Opportunities are provided in the Indianapolis Public Schools to
take care of the varied needs of the pupils. Courses are presented
to prepare the student for college or a career or to develop special
interests and abilities. For example, the Arsenal Technical High
School is regarded as one of the most comprehensive high schools
in the United States. The Harry E. Wood School, which was

established in 1952, offers many trade and occupational terminal courses, such as barbering, shoe repair, commercial food preparation, dental assistant, beauty culture, and automobile body-and-fender bumping and painting. It also provides curriculums for normal, mentally retarded, and socially maladjusted children.

Some evidence of meeting individual and group needs is shown by the availability of classes for the gifted child and the mentally retarded child in various city schools, a diagnostic and remedial reading center for retarded readers, developmental reading laboratories in each of the eight high schools, speech and hearing therapists, physiotherapists, school social workers, and psychological consultants located in centers throughout the city. "X" classes for exceptionally bright children and "S" classes for slow-learning children are found in all of the high schools. Each high school is staffed with trained counselors for advising students and parents. Curriculum offerings in the high school include a large variety of academic, commercial, technical, and vocational courses. Other curriculum offerings are sex education, family living, evening courses for foreign born, and courses in psychology. The adaptation of the regular curriculum as reflected by the increased use of reading groups is an indication of an attempt to better meet individual and group needs.

The James E. Roberts School provides a unique program for the physically handicapped, from kindergarten through twelfth grade, which includes occupational therapy, remedial work for epileptics, and physical therapy. The Theodore Potter School offers training for the hard of hearing and those physically under par. Both of these programs are under medical direction.

Questions which may be considered in determining the adequacy of a program are: (a) Are teachers specially trained for teaching the exceptional child? Seminars and special workshops are made available for in-service training of teachers of the exceptional child. (b) Do facilities exist for group testing and individual evaluation to determine the child's potentials and limitations? Indianapolis has a comprehensive group-testing program, also a staff of guidance counselors, five psychological consultants, and thirty-eight school social workers. (c) To what extent do teachers need to adjust the regular curriculum to individuals? A continuous curriculum-revision

program involves hundreds of teachers in workshops and in study groups. It is the policy of the school to move toward self-contained rooms from Grade I through Grade VIII. (d) Is the school aware of the need to adjust the curriculum to the individual as well as to the group? The primary cycle, Grades I, II, and III, where each child progresses at his own rate, is functioning in the Indianapolis schools. Promotion of students is on an individual basis. A comprehensive program in intramural and interscholastic athletics, operating after school and on Saturdays, has provided concrete evidence of solving many behavior problems.

The Indianapolis Public Schools are using the community as a laboratory through field trips, with eight buses operating continuously each day taking pupils to various businesses and museums throughout the city. During the past year one thousand such trips were made. Each year hundreds of speakers are brought into the schools from various sources to speak before student groups. Lay men and women are members of curriculum committees and school advisory groups. Business-education days are a part of each year's program. The economic-education program, "Indianapolis at Work," studies the economic life of the city of Indianapolis. These are a few devices used to integrate the schools and the community.

With all the curricular changes that are in evidence to better meet the needs of the youth of the city of Indianapolis, many things still need to be done to adequately measure up to this particular criterion. There is still a large group of children whose needs are not yet being adequately met by the curriculum, but plans are being made to meet these needs.

9. *Is there a comprehensive program that is broad enough in prevention and treatment of mental illness to meet the varying needs of the school and the community?*

A community program which deals in a positive fashion with the criteria enumerated thus far can be considered to be comprehensive. However, in supplementing the preventive aspects of this program, certain general considerations should be emphasized.

There must be a sincere and honest acceptance of community facilities based upon understanding and not upon mere intellectual enlightenment. That is, greater emotional acceptance by the community without fear of guilt can only come about through an in-

tensive and permanent community educative experience so that personal referral can be made quickly without feelings of stigma or shame.

Preventing mental illness is always related to a realistic and carefully planned community and school recreational program. Indianapolis' Flanner House, Kirshbaum Center, Little League Baseball, athletic leagues in churches, YMCA and YWCA recreational programs, all supplement the school program. Indianapolis has a fine program in extended school services which includes intramural athletics, clubs dealing with photography, gardening, woodworking, social dancing, etc. This program extends from the close of the regular school day until early evening. The school camping program, carried on during the fall and spring, involves hundreds of children. Interscholastic athletic programs in junior and senior high schools add to the recreational facilities of the city. In addition to the school and private agencies, the city has a rather good recreational program.

A comprehensive mental-health program emphasizing community adjustment includes the establishment of interfaith and interracial committees to deal with tensions which might arise in these emotion-ladened problem areas. Aside from dealing realistically with such problems, the committee should have an educative function in attempting to foster better race and religious relations through open, objective, and honest discussions of existing areas of tensions. Such interfaith and interracial committees exist in Indianapolis and have, in the past, served to prevent interracial "incidents."

Within the school system, preventive mental health may involve an emphasis upon evaluating the personal qualities and adjustment of teachers at the time of employment plus periodic re-evaluation of all school personnel. This is done in the staff personnel program. Additional opportunity for professional growth and stimulation through study and regular exchange of ideas would be not only intellectually stimulating but personally satisfying to the teacher who is interested and enthusiastic about her appointment. The community looks upon the Indianapolis schools as resource or community centers where teachers and parents can develop a closer relationship and a communality of interests.

The treatment aspects of such a comprehensive program must

necessarily involve adequately staffed, supported, and accepted community clinics and institutional facilities. A wide variety of clinic facilities to meet the requirements of the community should be made available. Indianapolis does not have enough of these clinics to meet the needs of the community. Although child guidance clinics, family service agencies and placement facilities are available locally, this community lacks the necessary psychiatric facilities in its juvenile and criminal courts. Psychiatric residential treatment centers are not available locally. This makes the opportunities for realistic disposition of cases of severely disturbed delinquents impossible. These are, of course, only a few of the considerations necessary when a program of prevention and treatment is considered for the entire community and the schools.

The school guidance program should have an intensive mental-health philosophy in approaching both the treatment and prevention of difficulties in the school setting. This philosophy is spreading in the Indianapolis schools. However, if there are no community facilities for referrals of cases that the schools cannot handle or no clinics that will prevent emotional disturbance, then a problem is created that cannot be solved until the facilities have been made available.

10. *Is there an observable improvement in the working conditions for teachers and is the environment for students conducive to good mental health?*

Certain intangible qualities are frequently as important to good mental health as a capable staff and an adequate physical plant. There are schools where facilities are minimal and conditions crowded, yet, the relationship among teachers, pupils, and parents is cordial and relaxed. Respect and understanding exist between the teachers and the administration.

The working conditions of teachers should involve channels of communication within the administrative framework through which a teacher can offer suggestions and criticisms and contribute to the development of a better school program. A teaching staff must feel that these channels may be used without fear of criticism or reprimand. At the present time, advisory teacher committees exist in almost all Indianapolis school buildings. Individual school principals are responsible for transmitting comments and suggestions

from these teacher committees to their representatives on the principals' advisory committee which, in turn, meets with the superintendent in an effort to effect improvements.

Working conditions can be considered improved when teachers are given greater responsibility in the development of curriculums and policy. Teachers invariably identify more readily with their profession and obtain greater satisfaction through such a sense of participation. Committee usage has recently become quite important in Indianapolis. Their chief function is to represent all school personnel in deciding and developing policy, determining curriculums and teaching load at the high-school and elementary-school levels, and establishing personnel policy, in-service training, public relations, and pupil personnel plans. This participation has greatly raised teacher morale.

The teacher-pupil relationship would seem to be the most important part of the environment of students which would bear directly upon the mental health of a school program. Administrators and teachers should feel sufficiently secure in their positions to delegate authority down the line. Children should be incorporated in project-planning just as often as teachers' judgments are sought by school administrators. Student councils should be treated with respect and should reflect the feelings of students clearly enough to be used by administrators and teachers as a basis for action. In addition to the student council in each high school, there is an inter-high-school student council that meets monthly. The inter-high-school student council sponsors a student convention once a year that is attended by hundreds of high-school students. The revised curriculums call for student planning in both the elementary- and high-school levels.

The administration must support teachers in a discussion of controversial issues. Issues of a controversial nature, such as economics, politics, sex, and race relations should be dealt with in the classroom, since all require a healthy and objective discussion and an intellectually unbiased approach. Boards of education should have a written, official policy relative to the teaching of controversial issues in order to give teachers a feeling of security. The Indianapolis Board of Education has such a policy which is liberal in nature.

In terms of specific working conditions, certain obvious realistic

considerations are important. Increased security in their appointments as reflected through tenure, retirement plans, hospital benefits, and a professional salary schedule with adequate sick-leave benefits should be a part of the personnel policy of the school. All of these are an essential part of the personnel policy of the Indianapolis schools. Teachers are encouraged to become members of their professional organizations. An orientation program for beginning teachers is held at the beginning of each school year. Whenever possible, promotions are made from the ranks of the local staff.

Facilities must be made available for helping the teachers when their emotional difficulties make a satisfying teacher-pupil relationship experience impossible. Counseling services are available for teachers having such problems.

A program of recognition for the professional activities of the staff is most important. In Indianapolis, semimonthly bulletins are issued to each school and posted on the bulletin boards. These bulletins contain reports of actions of the Board of School Commissioners at its official meetings together with comments about various faculty members who have done something worthy of special recognition. This special recognition is made a part of the Board's official record. A periodic newsletter issued by the public relations department of the school system to each faculty member carries news of the schools together with a section dealing with recognition of staff members. Activities of special merit are reported in the local newspapers. Teachers are encouraged to appear on radio and television. All of this makes the community aware of the activities of the teaching staff and gives the staff recognition for achievement.

11. *Is the mental-health program having a noticeable effect upon the community in general?*

A mental-health program, if it is effective, will show its influence on a community in different ways. There will be an increase in financial support. The Indianapolis public school system has raised its financial contribution to the mental-health program by over fifty thousand dollars in the last two and one-half years.

There has been a real awakening on the part of the state government relative to the improvement of mental institutions and the general health program of the state during the past year.

The mental-health program should show an increasing number

of groups helping to solve community, racial, and emotional tensions, and there should be less sensational publicity given to mental deficiency, delinquency, crime, and aberrant sexual behavior. If there is an understanding of the emotional factors that cause them and the need for treatment, the newspapers and public information agencies will not include the names of juvenile delinquents or sex deviates in news stories. Neither would emphasis be placed upon race. The local newspapers in Indianapolis are very co-operative in this matter. Also, there would be a decrease in restricted real estate covenants, both explicit and implicit.

In Indianapolis, there has developed much greater community understanding and acceptance of mental deficiency during the past year, particularly through the efforts of Friends and Relatives of Retarded Children, Inc., to establish a private school for the trainable but not educable feeble-minded. Information agencies have given of their time and space for this program of community education. Numerous social, fraternal, and service organizations have provided funds, and the public schools have provided surplus equipment. All working together have, in various ways, aided in this community effort to meet the needs of a group which in the past has been largely forgotten. This indicates a certain level of understanding and sympathy.

In a community which only a few years ago was a center for the Ku Klux Klan and which, at the present time, is attempting to integrate the races into nonsegregated schools, one would expect much racial tension. That it exists is apparent. But the establishment of various organizations to work out racial situations before they become racial "incidents" is certainly an indication of a more healthy and more mature understanding and acceptance of the racial situation. The newly formed Mayor's Commission on Human Rights in Indianapolis, representing community leaders of various groups (labor, commerce, schools, religion, etc.), has on occasion swung into action when points of friction developed. So far, it has proved valuable in working out some of the tensions at an adult level. Today in the Indianapolis Public Schools, Negroes attend the school in the district in which they live; Negro children participate in the activities of the school; Negro players are on the school athletic teams, including the schools that are predominately white.

Although on occasion it has looked as though the parents might create an incident, the children have worked out the situation with understanding.

For the first time in the history of the Indianapolis Public Schools, both Negro and white teachers are teaching mixed racial groups of pupils in the same building. In one school, there is a Negro principal in charge of a school having a mixed racial faculty and students. These changes have been made without any major problems arising from them.

12. *Are there provisions for a program of continuous evaluation of the mental-health program?*

A continuous, practical evaluation of the mental-health program involves two different kinds of research. One is the collection, tabulation, and meaningful analysis of statistics which result from the day-to-day work of various service agencies. A second type of research, experimental in nature, also is needed for continuous evaluation of a mental-health program. This type of research is based upon the formulation of hypotheses relevant to a problem area and subsequent experimental testing of these hypotheses.

The first type of research requires the existence of a central statistical control office in the community. It must be headed by a capable statistician who is experienced in health and welfare work. This central statistical office should be responsible for establishing uniform, relevant reporting by the various agencies and for appropriate analysis of the acquired data. The analysis of the data must be more than a presentation of figures. It must indicate the relationships and conclusions implicit in the data. Indianapolis does not have an office of this kind which collects data from the entire community. However, the city public schools established an office in 1953, headed by a research director who carries on the collection of data mentioned above.

There are several implications in experimental research for a school system. The first is the presence of a capable research director who has sufficient status within the school organization to be effective. The second is the presence of people who are capable of conducting experimental research. The Indianapolis school system meets these two requirements quite well.

A vital program for evaluation should also include close relation-

ships between the public schools and colleges and universities whose graduate students and faculties can conduct experimental research. Students from local universities are carrying on research projects in the Indianapolis Public Schools. Members of the public schools staff also are writing dissertations on experimental research.

One of the necessary provisions for an adequate, continuous evaluation of a mental-health program is the freedom to investigate problems and difficulties, of any kind, at any and all levels of the organization. This feeling of freedom to investigate any problem in the Indianapolis Public Schools is growing, as teachers and other staff members are brought more and more into policy-forming committees. There is also a closer, working relationship between the central office staff and the classroom teacher. It has been made clear to the staff, on many occasions, that each is considered an expert in his field and that he should feel free to carry on any research that would be conducive to the betterment of the school system. Channels of communication are kept open. When the need arises, new channels of communication are established so that there may be understanding in all departments of the school system. There is also a close, working relationship between school officials and other social, governmental, and private agencies in the community.

The establishment of the schools' research office is the first definite attempt in the community to set up machinery for collecting data which might be used for evaluating a mental-health program. Since this office was established only recently, no conclusive data are now available. However, within the near future, this research office will be ready to supply necessary data to aid in a more critical evaluation of the mental-health program.

Application of the Above Criteria to a State Mental-Health Program

In this section of the chapter on evaluation, a brief description of the mental-health program in the state of Michigan will be made, and the reader may apply the criteria listed at the beginning of this chapter for his evaluation as to its effectiveness.

The Michigan Society for Mental Health—a Citizens' Movement. The Michigan Society for Mental Health is the spearhead of the mental-health movement in Michigan. Founded in the late 1930's,

its membership includes professional and business people scattered throughout the state, with a central office in Detroit in the charge of an executive director. A large part of the membership of the Society is made up of school personnel. Its financial support comes from membership dues, gifts from foundations, and the Michigan United Health and Welfare Fund. The Society is the aggressive front for a determined struggle for better mental-health conditions in Michigan. There are eleven chapters of the Society in the state of Michigan. The Society helps in many ways with their local programs.

Psychiatric Clinics for Children. The Society has provided leadership in establishing fourteen child guidance clinics in various cities of the state. Each of these clinics is administered by a local board of directors. Among other staff members, each board has a psychiatrist as a director. The clinics are financially supported by gifts, local community chests, boards of education, city governments, county governments, and appropriations from the state legislature made to the State Department of Mental Health. Approximately 63 per cent of the support comes from the state. Referrals are made to these clinics by the local schools, social agencies, and physicians in the community. Members of the board of directors of the Michigan Society for Mental Health are often selected from those communities having child guidance clinics. The Society keeps in close touch with these clinics and offers them many services.

Bond Issue Project. In 1950, Michigan was typical of other states in that it needed more beds for the mentally ill, epileptic, and the feeble-minded. Progress in this area had been hampered by the depression of the 1930's and the world war of the 1940's. The Society in 1950 organized a Citizens Education Committee to head up a drive for the issuing of $80,000,000 of bonds with which to finance the construction of facilities providing 11,000 more beds for the mentally sick, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded by 1955. The goal was to eliminate all waiting lists, reduce overcrowding to a tolerable amount, and replace all inferior quarters with new facilities. Later, the bond issue was reduced to $65,000,000 and was passed by a substantial majority vote of the people.

Between 1928 and 1951, Michigan gained 9,798 beds for the mentally ill which gave the state a rating of 316 beds per 100,000

population as against an average of 308 in the continental United States. The state also gained 3,817 beds for the feeble-minded and 670 for the epileptic. This progress coincides with the life of the Michigan Society for Mental Health.

Special Projects. As a part of the mental-health program in Michigan, two large private general hospitals in Detroit have established adult psychiatric services with in-patient and out-patient facilities. The psychiatric program in these general hospitals is aimed chiefly at early treatment of milder mental disorders which do not require long-term hospitalization. Families prefer to send their mentally ill to hospitals where custodial care is not involved. These adult clinics provide excellent opportunities for training doctors and nurses in psychiatric care. This type of service will no doubt spread throughout the country.

The Society for the past three years has sponsored a series of programs for expectant parents. It makes available films, appropriate literature, discussion leaders, and professional consultants.

Among the many major projects now under way is one to secure funds for a children's psychiatric hospital.

Press, Television, and Radio. Continuous press releases on the various activities in the field of mental health are a part of the total program. Well-planned television and radio programs consisting of plays, panels, forums, and lectures on different problems concerning mental health keep the subject alive and ever before the general public.

Co-operation with Other Organizations. The state's mental-health program is tied into the programs of many other organizations. Among them are such groups as the State Parent-Teacher Association, the State Farm Bureau, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Michigan Nursing Association, and the schools, both public and private. These groups are urged to have their memberships serve on advisory boards of local mental-health chapters, child guidance clinics, and legislative committees for better mental health. Interlocking board relations are promoted throughout the state. An annual mental-health conference is held with the above organizations and many others participating. The Society co-operates with schools in promoting in-service training for teachers in the area of mental health.

The Need for Personnel. The need for more trained personnel

is a major problem in prevention and cure of mental diseases. Dr. William C. Menninger states:

Lack of trained manpower is one important reason why mental health is our number-one problem. In no other field of medicine are we so short of specialists. There are [now] about seven thousand physicians who practice psychiatry, though more than twice this number could go to work tomorrow. Each year only about five hundred psychiatrists complete their training. . . . Only two cents of every dollar spent for medical research goes for the study of mental illness.[5]

Clinics and hospitals without adequate staff are meaningless. Michigan has made at least a beginning in solving this problem by establishing a full-time Chair of Psychiatry at Wayne University Medical School, Detroit. Also, greater emphasis is being given to indoctrinating all undergraduate trainees in medicine with a sympathetic understanding of mental illness so that they will be better able to meet it in the general practice of medicine. The State Mental Health Department has been given authority to build a neuro-psychiatric institute on the Wayne University campus to be used by the Medical School's Department of Psychiatry and other divisions of the University that train social workers, nurses, and psychologists. The University of Michigan Medical School has taken full advantage of fellowships granted by the Federal Public Health Service for the training of psychiatrists.

There probably is no state more alert to the problems of mental health; and no state that is doing more to solve these problems. However, in applying our criteria to the state mental-health program in Michigan, it would seem that the greatest weakness is shown in its relationship to the schools. Yet, one could argue that by indirection through child guidance clinics and its public relations program in making the general public aware of the mental-health program, it was having a substantial effect on the problem in the schools.

Conclusion

The all-inclusive objective of the schools is to develop adequate citizenship in a democratic society. This cannot be done with mentally ill people. The Citizenship Education Study in Detroit points

[5] William C. Menninger, "Picture of Mental Health," *National Parent-Teacher*, XLVIII (October, 1953), 12.

to one conclusive fact: The basis for training for citizenship in the schools is good mental health.

In one of the published reports of the Detroit Citizenship Study, the writers conclude:

> As the Study worked to discover what constituted good citizenship-education programs, it was repeatedly confronted with the problem of the emotional adjustment of children. Again and again, with increasing force, the teachers presented the problems of children's maladjustment as the crucial problem in citizenship education.
>
> Much of the Study's time and effort was spent in working on this problem of emotional adjustment. Of the fifty-four different projects developed in the eight participating schools during the first year of the Study, thirteen were primarily concerned with the study of children, and twenty-four were intended to meet particular needs of children. Thus, nearly 70 per cent of these early projects were related to the adjustment of children. During the succeeding years, the conviction grew that the foundation stone of good citizenship is good mental health.[6]

The Detroit Citizenship Education Study was carried on over a period of five years, involving many teachers, administrators, university professors, and pupils. It was supported financially by a large grant of money from a foundation. It is quite significant that the major conclusion was that good mental health is a prerequisite for good citizenship. If we accept this conclusion, then we must keep the horse and the cart in their proper relationships in our schools and communities. Obviously, in too many of our school systems the importance of good mental health has been ignored, thereby making it impossible to do an adequate job of citizenship training for which the schools are maintained.

The criteria listed at the beginning of this chapter are not all-inclusive. Many more could be added. Applying them to any school and community will not result in an objective measurement of the effectiveness of a mental-health program. However, subjective as the evaluation may be, it will present an over-all view of the strengths and weaknesses of a mental-health program and may stimulate interest to the point that greater effort will be made to do something about it.

[6] Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *Emotional Adjustment a Key to Good Citizenship*, pp. 5-6. Detroit, Michigan: Wayne University Press, 1953.

SECTION IV

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE TEACHER

The Mental Health of the Teacher

PAUL A. WITTY

The Characteristics of Good Teachers

Research workers in education as well as persons interested in teacher-training and in-service programs have sought for many years to identify the characteristics of the effective teacher. Despite the long history of such efforts, reliable information is still not available. Of course many statements concerning the qualifications of good teachers are to be found in the literature of education. Recent recurring statements recall some reports published as long ago as one hundred years or more. For example, in 1845, the Reverend Denison Olmsted described the ideal teacher as one who possessed knowledge of his own subject, of kindred subjects, and of the world.[1]

Another report, published in August, 1848, cited the following traits: a benevolent disposition, good health, pleasing appearance, and a genuine and earnest sympathy for the young.[2] Similar points were stressed in other articles which appeared throughout the nineteenth century.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, publications continued to emphasize certain traits in the successful teacher. Impetus was given to investigations in this area during the period from 1920-30, when statistical procedures were widely applied to educational data. Accordingly, a number of studies set forth coefficients of correlation between estimates of successful teaching and

[1] Denison Olmsted, "Lecture III on the Beau Ideal of the Perfect Teacher," *American Institute of Instruction at Hartford, August, 1845*, pp. 83-109. Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co., 1846.

[2] Nathan Monroe, "The Qualifications of the Teacher," *American Institute of Instruction at Bangor, Maine, August, 1846*, pp. 63-95. Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co., 1848.

factors such as intelligence, amount of formal education, and grades in courses. These coefficients were uniformly low.

Interest in the statistical approach to this problem continued during the period 1930-50. Moreover, comprehensive approaches were further developed and more reliable techniques were applied. The work of Peter Sandiford and his associates is illustrative of studies made at this time.[3] In the fall of 1934, entering students at the University of Toronto were interviewed and given a series of intelligence, educational, and personality tests. After they had engaged in practice-teaching and had taken other courses, correlation studies revealed that ability in teaching was not closely related to intelligence or to achievement in special subjects. Very low coefficients of correlation were also obtained between supervisory ratings and other factors.

A. S. Barr, after examining representative studies, concluded:

The results of research in this area to date have been disappointing. . . . The unsatisfactory results are doubtless due, in part, to the inadequacy of the instrument of measurement employed. . . . Possibly the low correlations are due, too, in part to the small contribution to the total teaching ability made by each of the several aspects studied.[4]

From 1940 to the present time, the large number of studies which have appeared in periodicals reflects a continuing interest in this topic. A variety of objective and subjective measures for identifying the effective teacher has been devised; yet none has proved to have very high predictive value. In the September, 1946, issue of the *Journal of Experimental Education*, Barr called attention again to the lack of agreement among the criteria used in evaluating teaching efficiency and stated: "Whatever supervisors look for, it is not that considered of prime importance by pupils in their evaluation of teachers or that measured by tests of pupil achievement."[5] This

[3] Peter Sandiford and Others, *Forecasting Teaching Ability.* Bulletin No. 8, Department of Research, University of Toronto. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1937.

[4] A. S. Barr, "Recruitment for Teacher Training and Prediction," *Review of Educational Research,* X (June, 1940), 189-90.

[5] A. S. Barr, "Summary and Comments," *Journal of Experimental Education,* XV (September, 1946), 99. See also, articles by Lee Joseph Lins, Herbert I. Von Haden, and Ronald Devall Jones in the same issue of the *Journal of Experimental Education.*

investigator stressed the significance of comprehensive approaches and indicated that autobiographies and subjective evaluations may prove to have merit in the measurement and prediction of teaching efficiency. In the May, 1954, issue of the *Journal of Educational Research*, A. B. Carlile concludes that the forecasting of efficiency by measures of intelligence, personality, aptitude, and scholastic achievement is "almost without value in foretelling success or failure in the teaching profession." [6]

Support for Barr's position may be found in articles and books about men and women who have deeply influenced others. Stimulated by accounts of "Most Unforgettable" characters in the *Reader's Digest*, two teachers wrote an article for the magazine, *Illinois Education*, entitled "Teachers Can Be Unforgettable Too." They emphasize the significance of fundamental human qualities in the effective teacher and conclude:

> The teacher whose pupils remember him with love and respect is obviously not the one who has been so overwhelmed with textbook details that he forgot the human materials for whom the textbooks were made. . . . He has kept first things first. His first duty has been to find and express fundamental truths; and then he has loved his pupils with that selfless affection that always gives the understanding and warmth essential to drawing out their "best selves." [7]

In a somewhat similar vein, David G. Ryans writes:

> Good teachers, those who are intelligent, skilful, sincere, and understanding, are a prime requisite for an enlightened, productive, and congenial society. Poor teaching contributes to a vicious circle of ignorance, misunderstanding, and prejudice. [8]

Ryans stresses the complexity of the problem of ascertaining desirable teacher characteristics in the many and varied teaching situations which make up American education and the difficulty in developing reliable instruments of measurement. Then he describes the efforts of the staff of the Teacher Characteristics Study to deter-

[6] A. B. Carlile, "Predicting Performance in the Teaching Profession," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLVII (May, 1954), 668.

[7] Charles D. Neal and Mary Afflack, "Teachers Can Be Unforgettable Too," *Illinois Education*, XXXVIII (October, 1949), 63.

[8] David G. Ryans, "The Investigation of Teacher Characteristics," *Educational Record*, XXXIV (October, 1953), 371.

mine the characteristics of the effective teacher by a somewhat unique approach:

The investigations of the Teacher Characteristics Study have been guided by two principal objectives: (1) the identification and analysis of patterns of teacher behavior; and (2) the development of psychometric instruments for the prediction of identifiable patterns of teacher behavior.[9]

A study of "critical incidents" in teaching was adopted as a promising procedure to be employed in this study. Examples of the behavior of teachers in meeting effectively "critical incidents" were then collected and the "incidents" were classified. From the analysis, "generalized descriptive statements" such as the following were derived to describe the effective teacher.

Is alert, appears enthusiastic and interested in pupils and classroom activities. . . .
Likes fun, possesses a sense of humor.
Recognizes and admits own mistakes.
Is fair, impartial, and objective in treatment of pupils.
Is patient.
Shows understanding and sympathy in working with pupils.
Is friendly, democratic, and courteous in relations with pupils.
Helps pupils with personal as well as educational problems.
Commends effort and gives generous praise for work well done. . . .[10]

Statements of ineffective behavior were also assembled. Following are a few examples:

Is apathetic.
Is depressed, pessimistic, appears unhappy.
Loses temper, is disorganized, is easily disturbed in face of classroom demands.
Is too serious, too occupied for fun or humor.
Is impatient.
Shows rigidity of procedure. . . .[11]

Another interesting list of teacher characteristics was made in an attempt to answer the question, "What kind of teachers do parents like?" One hundred and sixty parents were interviewed and words such as the following were included in the list to describe the personal attributes and characteristics of teachers: well-groomed,

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 373.   [10] *Ibid.*, p. 383.   [11] *Ibid.*

open-minded, efficient, patient, possessed with a sense of humor, and tactful.[12]

The foregoing lists lead one to observe that the teacher must indeed be a paragon to possess all the desirable characteristics. Lawrence Kaye reminds us that the "ideal teacher can't exist in one person if he is to remain a person," and continues as follows:

> Let us not think that there is a mold for the perfect teacher and that every teacher must try to fit into this mold. Let us not think that a good teacher never raises his voice or loses his temper or has a healthy dislike for a child. Perhaps the time for real concern about our children will come when every teacher has learned to become completely dispassionate, when he possesses no frailty because he possesses no humanity, when he acts like a well-oiled machine producing other well-oiled machines.[13]

Despite the limitations of the foregoing studies, they suggest the significance of certain traits which lead teachers to become relatively well-adjusted and stable individuals. Such teachers are better able to provide wholesome classrooms in which pupils can make the greatest progress.

These studies suggest, too, the possible value of more comprehensive studies which utilize children's evaluations of helpful teachers. As Herold Hunt has indicated, pupils are good judges since they are "the one constant factor in the educational program."[14] Accordingly, their judgments should prove of worth in evaluating teachers.

Four Studies of Pupil Evaluation of Teachers

CHARACTER TRAITS OF GOOD TEACHERS

Following are summaries of four studies in which pupil evaluation has been used.[15] Several years ago the writer suggested to

[12] Victoria F. Smith, "What Kind of Teachers Do Parents Like? What Kind of Parents Do Teachers Like?" *Understanding the Child*, XXII (October, 1953), 99-103.

[13] Lawrence Kaye, "Are Teachers Neurotic?" *High Points*, XXXIV (March, 1952), 45.

[14] Herold C. Hunt, "The Ideal Teacher," *Journal of Education*, CXXV (February, 1942), 37-38.

[15] Paul Witty, "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most," *Elementary English*, XXIV (October, 1947), 345-54.

officials of the "Quiz Kids" radio program that they award a scholarship to the teacher most convincingly described in a pupil's composition, under the title "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most." During the spring of 1946 the first contest was conducted.

The response of children and young people was large. In the first contest, approximately 14,000 letters were submitted by pupils from Grades I to XII. Following is a list of traits in the order in which they were cited.

1. Co-operative, democratic attitude
2. Kindliness and consideration for the individual
3. Patience
4. Wide interests
5. Pleasing personal appearance and manner
6. Fairness and impartiality
7. Sense of humor
8. Good disposition and consistent behavior
9. Interest in pupil's problems
10. Flexibility
11. Use of recognition and praise
12. Unusual proficiency in teaching a particular subject

During the three following years, additional nation-wide contests were held. The twelve traits already mentioned were cited consistently, although their order varied from year to year. Following are examples of the pupils' comments, submitted during the different contests.

1) *Co-operative, democratic attitude.* A young child wrote: "Just being with her the first day gave me a happy and content feeling. I did not feel strange at all, but at home. Being with her makes me want to do all I can for her and everyone else, and myself, too." Another wrote: "Miss X.'s class is just like one big happy family; I am not afraid of school any more." And another: "She made you feel good and comfortable at school—just like you were home in your living-room." An older child said: "She approaches us as if she considers us intelligent. She is democratic and helpful."

2) *Kindliness and consideration for the individual.* "She is so kind," said a youngster, "And she doesn't make a monkey out of you before everybody." Another wrote: "She is a teacher that makes a fellow want to get up early and go to school and not play sick. If a fellow has a teacher like that, he can stand on his own feet."

A high-school student stated: "She takes a great deal of interest in each child, his triumphs, his failures, his joys, and his sorrows."

3) *Patience.* An older pupil described the best teacher in this way: "He has lots of patience and explains everything thoroughly without getting mad if you don't understand it right away." "Miss X. helps you until you get it," said a primary-grade child. Another wrote: "She never gives up until you are able to do it." "When we are slow she doesn't hurry us; she just takes time and keeps on helping us until we succeed," wrote another pupil.

4) *Wide interests.* One child described his teacher as "using other books than textbooks, and taking us on trips." Another said: "When teaching she brings in outside ideas and helps us to apply what we learn in our everyday lives."

5) *Pleasing personal appearance and manner.* The following comments were made by pupils from the primary through the intermediate grades: "She is kind and courteous, and she smiles so much that I want to please her." "She is always dressed neatly and attractively and she sets an example for us." "She never looks nor acts sleepy. There is a vitality about her that transfers to us." An older pupil wrote about a young instructor: "We were all in the room when in walked a young-looking man with a very pleasant smile. There was something about his voice and his smile that made me feel good clear down to my stomach."

6) *Fairness and impartiality.* One child testified gratefully: "She treats us all the same. She likes every one of us. You can tell it not by what she says but by what she does." Others said approvingly: "She gives you exactly what you deserve," and "Her kindness is shown to all the children and she has no favorites in the class."

7) *Sense of humor.* Expressions varied; for example: "We work hard but we have fun too," and "I think Miss X. likes to teach; she makes everyone laugh sometime during the day." Others wrote: "She encouraged us to laugh with each other." "She puts some fun into each day so school does not seem so monotonous." "She laughs with us . . . and says a day is lost without a joke."

8) *Good disposition and consistent behavior.* Among observations were these: "She is always the same." "She has a smiling face, a kind manner, and a pleasing voice." "I'm sure she must have a

temper, as most people do, but I have never seen an example of it."
"Do you know anyone who is never cross but always happy? That's
my teacher."

9) *Interest in pupils' problems.* A primary-school boy wrote:
"It was not easy for me at school. My classmates did not like me
as I was slow and sometimes tried to attract attention, thus up-
setting everything. Miss X. was kind and patient with me. She
has explained over and over again why we do this or that. She has
helped me to win the love of the other children." Another pupil
discussed at length how a teacher showed him and other students
the falsity of prevalent attitudes toward racial groups which had
resulted in a feeling that certain students were inferior. This teacher
had shown him that "if you hurt any person, the blood is the same
color and the pain is the same."

A number of pupils told of their appreciation for help in over-
coming physical defects or difficulties. Thus, another child, whose
tendency to stutter had been a source of embarrassment, wrote this
about his teacher: "I shall never forget her because she has helped
me over a period of self-consciousness, and my improvement is due
to her making me feel at ease." And a high-school pupil wrote:
"Boys go to him as naturally as iron filings to a magnet."

10) *Flexibility.* Following are some of the pupils' comments:
"She uses different ways to teach you to read." "When she found
she was wrong she said so, and tried something else." "He let us
find out about many things. He helped us but we helped him too.
That's why I like science." "When it is necessary, he changes his
mind." "If our attention does not last or interest lags, she changes
to a different subject. She is never bored with her work."

11) *Use of recognition and praise.* "She made me know I could
do the work," wrote one boy in appreciation of his teacher. An-
other told of the encouragement "all" the pupils received: "School
was just school until the fourth grade, but now it is so interesting
I don't want to miss a day. You would have to know Miss X. to
get what I mean. You just want to do your best for her, because
she is so good to all of us. She praises you when you deserve it."

12) *Unusual proficiency in teaching a particular subject.* One
young girl wrote: "Miss X. didn't teach me to read—it was just

like magic. Suddenly I could read out of my reader. She taught me and I didn't know it." A middle-grade child stated: "The teacher who has helped me most is Miss X. She taught me how to get along better with all kinds of people. By this, I have met and liked make-believe people in my books and real people in my life." Another pupil presented his teacher in this way: "When I first entered the eighth grade, I had a dislike for science and could never digest it at all nor understand it. When Miss X. started teaching it to me, I liked the way she did it. It wasn't just memorizing stuff without knowing what it meant. She made me remember certain fine points and gave me a better understanding of it all."

The characteristic listed as "unusual proficiency in teaching a particular subject" is probably a result of behavior associated with the preceding traits. Its rank varied in the different investigations. In consideration of the rank of this trait, it is well to bear in mind that the topic assigned to the pupils may have influenced, perhaps, the nature of the responses. In these studies, the emphasis on "the teacher who helped me most" may have been in part responsible for the high frequency with which personal qualities were cited.

There was a marked consistency in the traits mentioned by pupils in the different contests. The 33,000 letters submitted during the second contest corroborated in many respects the 1946 study and demonstrated the significance of the foregoing traits as characteristics of the teacher who appeals most to pupils. Minor changes were noted in the trait order at different age levels. In the second investigation, older pupils mentioned more frequently the contribution made by the teacher who "knows his subject thoroughly."

UNDESIRABLE TRAITS IN TEACHERS

Another approach to the problem of trait analysis was used in dealing with the letters of the 1947 contest. Sample letters were drawn at random, and the nature and frequency of mention of undesirable characteristics were ascertained. The method employed was to make a frequency count under appropriate headings of statements such as "I like Miss X. because she does *not* yell at you"; "She isn't a grouch"; or "She does *not* scream at you." The following list presents the rank order of these traits and characteristics.

1. Bad-tempered and intolerant
2. Unfair and inclined to have favorites
3. Disinclined to show interest in the pupil and to take time to help him
4. Unreasonable in demands
5. Tendency to be gloomy and unfriendly
6. Sarcastic and inclined to use ridicule
7. Unattractive appearance
8. Impatient and inflexible
9. Tendency to talk excessively
10. Inclined to talk down to pupils
11. Overbearing and conceited
12. Lacking in sense of humor

The statements which follow illustrate the way pupils cited the first four undesirable characteristics. Of interest is the overwhelming indictment of the bad-tempered teacher by the youngest and of the unfair teacher by the oldest group. The following are examples of the pupils' frank reactions:

1) *Bad-tempered and intolerant behavior.* The good teacher is calm and considerate. "She doesn't yell, holler, scream, shout; get angry, mad, furious; fly off the handle; pound the desk; fuss; fly in a rage; bite your head off."

2) *Unfair and inclined to have favorites.* Examples of the "fair" teacher included: "She doesn't have pets." "She doesn't play favorites." "She doesn't treat some pupils better than others and give them all the breaks."

3) *Disinclined to show interest in the pupil.* The interested teacher is instead this type: "She is never too busy to help you when you need it." "She isn't the type of teacher who doesn't care what happens to you."

4) *Unreasonable in demands.* And the good teacher is reasonable in demands. "She doesn't heap (or pile) on homework." "She doesn't ask you to do things you can't do in the time you have."

Young children cited the first tendency often. In fact, in samples of two hundred letters, twelve to fifteen pupils made comments of the type listed. The second trait was less frequently cited by younger children; however, in the older group (ages fourteen and above), this characteristic was cited fifteen to twenty times in each

sample of two hundred letters. Items 3 and 4 appeared less often; item 3 was expressed most frequently by the older group. Much smaller frequencies were found for statements placed under the eight other characteristics.

5) The pupils expressed their disapproval of the *gloomy or unfriendly* teacher in this way: "She [the good teacher] isn't an old grouch," "crab," "a sour-puss." "She doesn't act smart or scowl."

6) *The use of sarcasm and ridicule* was disapproved by: "She [the most helpful teacher] never makes fun of any pupil before the class." "She never ridicules you in front of the class." "She doesn't mention your bad points over and over, but she praises you for the good things you do."

7) *Teachers who are unattractive in appearance* were rejected by implication: "She [the best teacher] doesn't wear the same dress all the time." "She was not like some teachers. Miss X. was always neatly dressed. . . . While she didn't look like a glamorous movie star, she was beautiful."

8) *Impatient and inflexible* behavior was disapproved. "She doesn't burst out telling me not to do this or that." "She doesn't make us all do the same thing at the same time every day." "She doesn't hurry us."

9) *Talking excessively* was also tabooed. "She doesn't talk too much." "She doesn't talk all the time." "She listens patiently to your ideas, and talks just the right amount."

10) Children dislike the teacher who *talks down to them*. "She doesn't talk to us like children." "He doesn't use big words, but he does treat us with respect as if he thinks our ideas are important."

11) *Overbearing and conceited* behavior causes children to dislike a teacher. "She doesn't pretend to know everything." "She isn't stuck-up." "She isn't conceited." "She isn't a snob."

12) The poor teacher *lacks a sense of humor*. But the best teacher "doesn't tell us not to laugh or have fun." "She doesn't take everything too seriously." "She doesn't think school is all work and no fun."

CONSISTENCY IN DESCRIPTIONS OF GOOD TEACHERS

The third contest, completed during the spring of 1948, yielded 35,000 letters. Similar traits were indicated as characteristics of the

"best teacher." However, certain changes were noticeable in the ranks assigned to the various items. Pupils at the high-school level gave high rank to ability to teach a particular subject. Again and again, they indicated their gratitude to the history teacher who helped them better to understand government and the course of events today through a study of the past. These pupils also mentioned with appreciation the contribution made by the teacher of English who enabled them to understand themselves better through literature. Young children were consistent in citing the same undesirable characteristics as in the preceding studies. However, in the third study, pupils in the primary grades mentioned more frequently than in the other studies the contribution made by the teacher whose classroom resembled a good home. Included were statements such as: "Our class is just like a big, happy family." "School is now like home." "I can act just as I do at home."

In the fourth contest, beginning in the fall of 1948, the pupils responded in a manner very similar to that of the previous year. However, they mentioned more frequently the democratic atmosphere of the classroom and their appreciation of the teacher who enabled them to understand the American way of life. Statements such as "You learn how to be a good citizen" or "a good American" occurred often.

The foregoing responses establish the significance of a mental-hygiene approach in the classroom. These boys and girls are grateful to the school in proportion to the degree that it offers security, individual success, shared experience, and opportunities for personal and social adjustment. The following longer excerpts from letters illustrate better than the 'shorter descriptive sentences the pupils' gratitude for such an approach:

I was a shy boy six years old when I started to school. Being with strange children was the biggest thing I ever hated to do in all my life. I was afraid to speak, afraid I would lose my hat, or lunch or books, and was just afraid of everything. Mrs. F. gave me a little chair at the table where other children were writing, drawing, using colored crayons, and just making funny marks on paper. I sat there holding my hat, books and lunch, afraid to move. I hated the whole outfit called school. She went on not trying to make me do a thing. When anyone spoke to me I just looked at them. Every day I was at the little table watching

the other children. By the end of the first week I had joined the children in making funny marks with pencil and crayons. Mrs. F. then gave me a copy of number and writing work to do and left me alone. I kept wanting to do more work when I started and because she knew what to do she kept giving me more copy work to do, until I was not afraid to talk. I hung my hat and lunch in the right places and found so much fun in school all because Mrs. F. knew so much about children and what is best for them. She made me not afraid of other children. (Boy 8, second grade).

An eleven-year-old boy wrote:

I am getting along fine with my work and enjoy going to school very much. I am giving most of the credit to Miss X, who taught me during my third year in school. She really dug down deep and started me on the road to learning. Before this I hated school and everything about it. My parents had to drive me off every morning, and every time I got a chance I skipped school.

I had often heard what a wonderful teacher Miss X. was but I just couldn't make up my mind about her until I tried her. The very first week she made me understand very clearly that school was not a jail house or a cage in which children were kept all day without any privileges or good times . . . but a place where everyone could work together, play together, share together, and live together. . . . When we worked, she worked; when we played, she played. She was right with us in everything we did. . . . She was so patient and kind you could not help but try to learn. She was never too tired or busy when anyone in the class needed help.

And this letter and poem, submitted by an Indian girl, Lucille Victor, suggest the significance of a teacher who recognizes the importance of creative expression in fostering mental health.

My English teacher, Mrs. C, has helped me more than any teacher I have ever had. You see, I am an Apache Indian girl and all of my people speak Apache. Mrs. C. is teaching me to make my thoughts in English. This is not easy, because most of the time I think in Apache.

She helps me most too, because she understands me. Any time she sees me she says, "hello," and I say "hello" to her. Then both of us will smile. When Mrs. C. smiles she has happy brown eyes, and I think of her as my mother. You see, I have no mother. She went away with a soft green wind a long time ago.

Last year I ran away from school. We have to be punished for that. Mrs. C. was very sad about it. She said that I must tell exactly why I did it. When I told her how the "run-away" thought had hit my brain

and made such a loud noise it just bounced me right down the road she laughed and said her thoughts bounced her around at times, too. But she punished me just the same, because she had to be fair.

When I have thoughts running around inside me, I write them for her. When they are nice and beautiful we make poems out of them. We did this with the thoughts I wrote about our superintendent when he died. We named the poem "In Memoriam" and it was published by the *Arizona Highways* magazine. It will be in *The Path to the Blue Skies*, a book of creative writings by Indian children. Mrs. C. is having it published. I am sending a copy of this poem to you, because it is my best poem. I didn't know I could write poems until Mrs. C. came.

Our English room is the prettiest room we have. When we go in there we know we must work. Mrs. C thinks we must learn to work and think like all American children. She knows we are Apache Indians, but she wants us to understand we are American citizens too.

Can't you see now how Mrs. C. is helping me?

IN MEMORIAM

He is gone, friend of the Apache.
He sailed away on the deep blue waters of the wide, wide river.
The low notes of the soft green wind called him.
The song singing of the deep blue waters put him to sleep.
I saw him, this friend of the Apache, across the big, wide desk.
He said to me, "Do you like school, little Apache girl?"
My tongue stuck and would not say "Yes."
He smiled at me, and I heard him go home with the leaves
    sounding as he walked.
Now he is gone, friend of my people.
He sailed away with a soft green wind on the deep blue waters
    of the wide, wide river.

What are the characteristics of the effective teacher? The foregoing letters reveal some traits esteemed by pupils as well as the traits pupils find objectionable. Obviously all the desirable traits are not found in any one teacher. Yet the composite portrays a fairly well-adjusted individual who is genuinely responsive in human relations. Such a teacher makes an effort to gain a thorough understanding of each pupil and to offer sympathetic guidance and counsel as they are needed. He recognizes too, his responsibility for cultivating children's interests; for guiding and fostering the acquisition of wholesome values; and for motivating and encouraging creative expression. Such a teacher applies mental-hygiene principles in his own life and in his classroom.

A Modern Concept of Mental Health

The trend among leaders in education today is to regard mental hygiene as an approach which stresses normal, wholesome development and the prevention of behavior problems. This point of view is expressed in several books designed for teachers.[16] And it is in accord with the statements of specialists in the field of mental hygiene.[17]

According to this concept, mental health is not only the province of the specialist but it is also the rightful concern of teachers, parents, and other persons interested in the welfare of children and youth. As one writer states:

In so far as mental hygiene represents a way of looking at things, a philosophy of life (rather than a refined clinical psychiatry), it is quite as available to the teacher, the principal, and other school officials as it is to the psychiatrist.[18]

Teachers have an unusual opportunity to practice mental health in the classroom. To do so, they must make an effort to provide classroom conditions which satisfy basic human needs.

What are the requirements of children in order that they may develop into well-adjusted and reasonably happy personalities? One writer lists five needs: (a) a feeling of security, (b) healthy personal adjustments, (c) healthy relationships to the group, (d) need for integration of personality (ability to stand alone), and (e) need for success.[19] Other investigators have drawn up similar lists of basic human needs.

Recently, a number of writers have stressed the significance of "developmental tasks," a concept related to "basic human needs." According to Havighurst, a developmental task "arises at or about a certain period in the life of an individual, successful achievement

[16] For example, *Mental Hygiene in Modern Education.* Edited by Paul Witty and Charles E. Skinner. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939.

[17] National Committee for Mental Hygiene, *Mental Hygiene,* XV (January-February, 1931), 11.

[18] James Stuart Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern,* p. 274. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1937.

[19] *Op. cit.,* chap. ii.

of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks." [20]

Following are illustrative tasks which Havighurst stresses as important for adolescents: (*a*) acquiring emotional independence of parents and other adults; (*b*) achieving assurance of economic independence; (c) selecting and preparing for an occupation; and (*d*) desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.

Two other writers point out that the concept of developmental tasks is more comprehensive than earlier formulations of human needs. They state:

> The concept is closely related to earlier notions about individual and social needs, interests, and drives. The chief advantage in talking about developmental tasks is that it focusses attention on what the individual is trying to accomplish rather than postulating some inner drive or need which is very difficult to define. The developmental task, too, allows for observation of behavior in a total dynamic context without artificial distinctions between physical, mental, social, and emotional aspects of growth.[21]

Approaches in Studying the Emotional Life of the Child

To be effective guides of the child and to gain an understanding of children, teachers need to become acquainted with patterns of child growth and development. In recent years, data have been obtained which disclose rather reliably the nature of these patterns throughout infancy and childhood. For example, Arnold Gesell and Frances Ilg have set forth descriptions of child development at various levels from birth to ten years of age.[22] From such reports, the teacher may obtain much valuable information about children, their growth, and their needs.

It is, however, insufficient for the teacher simply to know import-

[20] R. J. Havighurst, *Developmental Tasks and Education*, p. 2. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1952.

[21] Stephen M. Corey and Virgil E. Herrick, "The Developmental Tasks of Children and Young People," *Youth, Communication, and Libraries*, pp. 3-13. Chicago: American Library Association, 1949.

[22] Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1943); *The Child from Five to Ten* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1946).

ant facts about child growth. The effective teacher must be skilled in studying boys and girls, and in determining their needs. For each group varies greatly, and each child has unique characteristics.

ANECDOTAL REPORTS AND RECORDS

A number of practical procedures have been devised which teachers may utilize in the classroom. One of the most widely used of these approaches is the anecdotal method which has been fully described by Daniel Prescott and his associates. In its simplest form, the anecdotal method is merely a transcription or a record of behavior or conduct which the teacher believes to be significant. A combination of anecdotal with other methods is often used by teachers in their attempts to interpret children's behavior and needs. For example, a teacher may observe that on the playground John tends to associate with younger children and to strive to be the leader at all times. In the classroom, too, John repeatedly seeks attention. When he is not the center of interest, he is inclined to withdraw from group activities. A notation of such observations is filed as a part of John's record. On investigating the home, the teacher may discover additional related facts of significance. In this case, she finds that eight-year-old John, the youngest of a large family, has been for several years the object of attention on the part of indulgent parents and older brothers and sisters. The excessive concern for John started when he was four, following a serious and prolonged illness. Fully recovered at six, John continued to demand attention until the life of his home came to revolve about his whims and requests. An appreciation of these facts caused John's teacher to plan a series of group experiences which led him gradually to take his place as a contributing, considerate member of his class. Discussion of John's needs with his parents brought the establishment of a more wholesome home regime and a change in attitude. Under these conditions, his behavior improved generally. The increase in the use of child-study techniques by regular classroom teachers is indeed heartening. Encouraging also is the increasing use of the team approach, involving the services of psychologists, consultants, psychiatrists, and social workers in efforts to help teachers

through co-operative endeavors to understand themselves and their pupils better.[23]

THE INTEREST INVENTORY

Some teachers are employing an "interest inventory" to ascertain and appraise each child's needs. During informal interviews the teacher and the pupil discuss topics such as favorite leisure activities, hobbies, play preferences, movie and reading habits, familiarity with community places of interest, and modes of transportation. The following items selected from Part I of the *Northwestern University Interest Inventory* [24] illustrate this type of question: "When you have an hour or two that you can spend just as you please, what do you like best to do?" "Are you making any collections? Of what?" "Do you have a hobby? What?"

The *Inventory* includes questions relating to the child's personal and social problems. Here is an illustrative item:

Suppose you could have three wishes which might come true. What would be your first wish? second wish? third wish?

Part II of this *Inventory* contains a list of eighty play activities reported as favorites in extensive studies of school children. Study of the extent and nature of each child's participation in play activities

[23] *Helping Teachers Understand Children.* Prepared by the Staff of the Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel. Daniel A. Prescott, Chairman. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945.
Several outstanding efforts have been made by co-operative endeavor to help teachers understand children better. These projects attempt to interpret psychological principles and methods to teachers. Cf. Margart Morgan Lawrence, "The Application of Psychiatric Techniques to Teaching," *Nervous Child*, X (No. 3-4, 1954), 378-86. See, also, Kenneth Helfante, "A Project in Human Relations and Mental Health," *Educational Leadership*, XI (April, 1954), 434-39. For information on the Bullis, Force, Ojemann, and Forest Hill projects, see *An Evaluation of Four Projects*, Report No. 18, Committee on Preventive Psychiatry of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (3617 West Sixth Ave., Topeka, Kansas); and for information on the Massachusetts Project, see L. B. Bower, "Education in a New Perspective," *Educational Leadership*, VII (January, 1950), 230-34.

[24] Paul Witty, David Kopel, and Ann Coomer, *The Northwestern University Interest Inventory*. Evanston, Illinois: Published by the Authors, Psycho-Educational Clinic, Northwestern University. In three forms for children of ages five to eight, eight to fourteen, and fourteen to eighteen. Cf., in this connection, Paul Witty and David Kopel, *Reading and the Educative Process*, pp. 34-51 (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1939); Paul Witty, *Reading in Modern Education* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949).

may yield important insights into the adequacy and maturity of his social development.

Part III of this *Inventory* is a list containing titles of popular books. Discussion with the pupil of his reading often adds to the teacher's understanding of a child's needs. Part IV is designed to help the teacher evaluate each child's responses throughout the interview. It contains a checklist to be used in describing and interpreting the child's attitude, his understanding of the questions, and the reliability of his responses. Items are included to encourage the teacher to estimate the adequacy of the child's play life, his background of experience, and his association with others.

A less comprehensive approach is being used by other teachers in studying children. A list is presented and the child is asked merely to check those activities in which he has participated and found "the greatest satisfaction" or "worth" during the preceding week. The list includes sports, games, and sedentary pursuits. Activities involving construction, drawing, painting, and writing are represented. Through studying each child's favorite activities, the teacher may readily identify the pupil who is becoming isolated or who may, because of other tendencies, require greater individual attention and guidance. On the other hand, such an approach enables the teacher to gain an appreciation of individual or group interests which may be used to motivate reading or to foster interest in another subject. By associating instruction in various subjects with worth-while interests, the efficiency in learning is usually heightened. All these approaches are designed to help teachers understand children better and to use their increased knowledge in promoting each child's growth and happiness. One child expressed unwittingly the value of such effort: "She helps me most because she understands me. She always knows the right thing to say to a fellow."

Let us now examine a pupil and his rehabilitation, traceable in part to the judicious use of reading and other experiences to satisfy interests and meet "developmental needs."

Bill, age 10, was brought to the Psycho-Educational Clinic by his mother who asserted that Bill never read anything but the comics. Moreover, Bill was said to be just like his father who "never reads."

Bill's weaknesses and limitation were stressed in his presence by the mother with reiteration of the statement that Bill never read anything but the comics. At the conclusion of this recital, the examiner asked Mrs. X. to name a few books that she had read recently. After considerable hesitancy and embarrassment, she recalled one title only—*Gone with the Wind*—a book she had read at the time she had seen the movie of the same title.

Bill's health and general physical condition were excellent. Moreover, his IQ was 128; his academic achievement was slightly above his grade placement; and there was no doubt of Bill's competency in so far as reading skills were involved. However, Bill had received low average or borderline marks in every school subject. When he was questioned concerning his wishes, he replied: "I want to be just like my father and do the things he does." To questions about his vocational ambitions and his favorite recreational pursuits, his responses reflected his admiration for his father. Bill's father, it seemed, was a man thoroughly acquainted with airplanes, horses, and the customs of people of South America. Bill indicated also an attachment to his cousin—a former lieutenant in the Army. If Bill was unsuccessful as a representative to South America, he might, he said, enlist in the Army.

Here was a clear case of thwarted developmental needs—status in group, understanding of one's self, and recognition for successful attainment.

Bill's program of reading was planned in accord with his interests and was designed to satisfy his needs. Accordingly, he was provided with short stories about airplanes and South America. The stories presented a reading difficulty on the level of his demonstrated ability. He progressed rapidly in reading several *New World Neighbor* books about South America. He stated that two travel books illustrated by Disney contained the best stories he had ever read. Suitable books about horses were then procured. Bill enjoyed several of the stories in *Horses, Horses, Horses*. He read *The Black Stallion, Smoky, The Cow Horse,* and *King of the Wind*.

By this time, Bill was enjoying reading. To assure further mastery of habits and skills in reading, he received systematic training in several books devised for use in the Army. These experiences proved particularly pleasant. Bill reported his satisfaction in discussing the contents of these books with his cousin.

In Bill's case, many factors contributed to his progress. Bill's reading gains were attributable in part to the close association of his experience with developmental tasks and interests. Some of his improvement was undoubtedly traceable to improved conditions and

modified attitudes at home. After several weeks, Bill's mother telephoned stating that "everyone was now reading at home." Bill's gains were fostered, too, by discussions of books with his father and with his cousin, as well as by opportunities to contribute to class projects the information he had accumulated through reading.

EXPRESSION AND CREATIVITY IN THE CLASSROOM

A major responsibility of the teacher is to develop and maintain a classroom in which security, understanding, and mutual respect foster effective learning. The teacher will attempt to guide children's development in such a way that their emotional life will grow increasingly stable and satisfying. Outlets for strong drives and satisfactions for basic needs will be found in the varied activities and experiences of such a classroom.

Teachers who are practicing mental-hygiene principles are encouraging creative activities of many kinds. Clear evidence of the value of creative expression is revealed by the following incident. A few years ago, a teacher noticed a small much-folded piece of yellow paper on her desk. A dandelion had been placed with apparent haste in a corner of the page on which the following poem was written:

> See pure gold—
> Why do people love it so?
> And keep it in a store
> When a yellow dandelion's
> Purer, cheaper—so much more.
> The metal is so hard and cold.
> This little weed's a better gold.[25]

Any teacher might have been pleased by this poem. But in this instance there was unusual satisfaction for the child who had composed it had been withdrawn, sensitive, and indifferent; and this was her first really spontaneous expression. But it was not her last, for her teacher promptly used the poem as proof of her ability. The poem was praised by her classmates, and the incident marked the beginning of a new life for this child—a life of security, self-confidence, and successful endeavor. As Natalie Cole states, "Just as we can dig a channel to control the direction of a stream, we can

[25] To the teachers and pupils of the Willard School, Evanston, Illinois, I am indebted for this poem.

control the direction of our children's activities through praise and recognition." [26]

When creative writing is employed most successfully to foster mental health, it is looked upon as the prerogative of every child—not simply the privilege of a few gifted children. In such an approach, the following needs of the child are served by writing: (*a*) the need for keeping records of significant experience; (*b*) the need for sharing experience with an interested group; and (*c*) the need for free, individual expression which contributes to mental health.

Creative writing flourishes when experiences are rich and varied and when individual expression is encouraged. Again and again, teachers have stressed the significance of increasing the child's sensitivity to the world of things about him. And they have been no less insistent on the importance of fostering social sensitivity.

Children's sensitivity to the world of things can be increased by encouraging them to explore their near-by environment, by leading them to visit and observe important places of local interest, and by providing opportunities for varied experience within the school itself. Social sensitivity may be enhanced by offering abundant opportunity for discussion in the classroom. It may prove desirable for the teacher to inquire periodically: What opportunities have children been given for presenting and discussing their written work? How may every child be given opportunity to share his writing orally? As such opportunities increase, the teacher will find that the effectiveness of writing and speech will improve. The development of a concern for clear communication is a dependable means of engendering a desire to write or to speak correctly. Particularly important, too, is the effect that increased clarity in communication has upon the pupil. He often becomes more secure as his own understanding increases. And he becomes more tolerant and appreciative of others as he grows better able to share ideas.

Emphasis on social sensitivity also yields large returns. Once awakened, a student's interest in people may become a dominating concern. Almost every activity is viewed in a new light. Reading, for example, becomes an exploratory experience in which the child feels a vital interest in the problems of the characters in stories. He

[26] Natalie Cole, *Arts in the Classroom*. New York: John Day & Co., 1940.

reads with a new purpose and the process becomes increasingly meaningful. Understanding and retention are also improved.

Another and quite significant value of creative writing is found in the way the teacher may come to understand the child's feelings and his needs.[27] A child who is unduly embarrassed or worried may reveal his attitudes in composition such as the following:

GIRAFFES

If I were a giraffe I would not show myself to the people.
I would be ashamed of myself.
When I go to the zoo all the people laugh at the giraffes.
I wouldn't want the people to laugh at me.
I feel sorry for giraffes.

Creative writing not only enables the teacher to gain an appreciation of a child's needs but it also permits the child to express and frequently relieve feelings of inadequacy. The following type of poem may reveal a sensitive child's concern about his physical appearance:

MONKEYS

A monkey is so black
At night I cannot see him
But I know a monkey can see
Such a white-headed me.

Improvement of Teacher Personality

We have observed some of the desirable outcomes obtained by excellent teachers who practice mental health in the classroom. That some teachers need to modify their attitudes and alter their values concerning human relationships may be demonstrated by examining a number of studies. Several investigators have described the unwholesome consequences of pupils' contacts with teachers who are themselves unstable. Moreover, some teachers encourage behavior in the classroom which threatens wholesome expression and sturdy growth. One investigator concluded that teachers more

[27] Other examples as well as these are included in a Northwestern University Doctor's dissertation on "Creative Writing," by E. E. Smith (1943). See, also, *Pupils Are People*, Report of the Committee on Individual Differences (Nellie Appy, Chairman), National Council of Teachers of English (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1941); Paul Witty and Lou LaBrant, *Teaching the People's Language* (New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldrige, 1945).

often show concern for the angry, rebellious child than for the withdrawn, timid pupil.[28]

In another study of seventy-three teachers, clear-cut evidence indicated that unstable teachers tend to have associated with them children who tend to be associated with more emotionally stable pupils.[29]

It has long been recognized that many teachers, like many other human beings, sometimes need help to achieve and maintain mental health. In the case of teachers, the quest for mental health is made difficult by factors such as large classes, inadequate materials for instruction, little time or opportunity for recreation, and other factors. Sometimes the conflict is within the teacher himself. Havighurst cites the anxiety that may arise in the teacher because of the dual role he is expected to play—that of a disciplinarian and also that of a helpful, guiding friend of his pupils. Realization of this conflict sometimes makes it difficult for him to maintain mental health. Havighurst makes the following recommendations to teachers who are experiencing difficulty in achieving or maintaining emotional security:

1. Understand and accept himself with his strengths and weaknesses. He must recognize that his self can be changed and may have to be changed in its less essential particulars in order to eliminate some sources of insecurity.

2. Understand and accept children. This is essential since association with children in all their moods and manners is the heart of the teacher's job.

3. Understand society. By this I mean that the teacher must know the community in which he works, understand its social structure, recognize the existence of social expectations which govern various jobs and particularly those that apply to the teacher's job. A realistic perception of the social expectations people have of him as a teacher will enable him to see himself as others see him and thus will help him as he selects and organizes his own pattern of social roles.

Notice that this is an active pattern. The teacher, to be a secure person, must understand himself, his pupils, and his society, and act intelli-

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[28] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1932. See, also, Paul Witty, "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most," *Elementary English*, XXIV (October, 1947), 345-54.

[29] Paul L. Boynton, Harriet Dugger, Masal Turner, "The Emotional Stability of Teachers and Pupils," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, XVIII (October, 1934), 232, cited by W. Carson Ryan in *Mental Health through Education* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1938).

gently upon that understanding. The life of modern society is like a river full of shadows and eddies and treacherous currents. The teacher who is merely flotsam on its twisting surface is truly a lost soul. He needs motive power of his own and a rudder to steer with.[30]

William C. Menninger suggests that teachers examine their own behavior and attitudes:

Stand aside and look at how you may be contributing to your own behavior and attitudes in the following way:

Do something out of the ordinary now and then. Use your imagination—explore new ideas and activities.

Make a serious effort to find better ways of doing your main job better.

Recreate and refresh yourself. The more fun you have in your leisure, the better it is for you. Everyone needs time to do what he wants, with full freedom and conscience to be happy in his own way.

Develop the art of friendliness. Make the joys of life, and sorrows, too, depend on how you get along with other people. Friends can be your greatest source of satisfaction—your strong support in time of crisis.

Finally take a look at your life goals. If you have a goal that is high enough and worthy enough, your achievement will come with your growth toward emotional maturity.

You are emotionally mature to the extent that you:

a) Find greater satisfaction in giving than receiving.
b) Form satisfying and permanent loyalties in give-and-take relationships.
c) Use your leisure creatively.
d) Contribute to the improvement of your home, school, community, nation and world.
e) Learn to profit from your mistakes and successes.
f) Are relatively free from fears, anxieties, and tensions.

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No one needs emotional maturity more than teachers and parents. We can hardly expect our children to be more mature adults than we are ourselves. If we hope to have a healthy, happier, more effective—more mature—next generation, we must come closer to mental maturity ourselves.[31]

[30] Robert J. Havighurst, "Peace of Mind for the Teacher," *NEA Journal,* XLII (November, 1953), 492-93.

[31] William C. Menninger, "Self Understanding for Teachers. How Can We Come Close to Mental Maturity?" *NEA Journal,* XLII (September, 1953), 331-33.

Another writer emphasizes the significance of mental health in the effective teacher and suggests that a good teacher should be able to answer the following questions in the affirmative:

a) Do you accept yourself?
b) Do you face reality resolutely?
c) Do you have satisfactory relations with others?
d) Do you possess a satisfying philosophy of life?
e) Do you adequately adjust to situations?
f) Do you use all possible sources of enjoyment?

.   .   .   .

If you would enjoy good mental health—keep your mind from worry, your emotions free from anxiety and hate. Take into your life as many simple natural pleasures as possible. Ask but little, give much. Face the world with dignity, poise and confidence. Forget self. Think of others. Try it for a day, a week; it works. You can inherit a great fortune without price.[32]

That many teachers are practicing mental health in the classroom and are leading fairly well-adjusted lives is suggested by some of the investigations reported in this chapter—particularly in the letters written by children concerning the teachers who have helped them most.

The letters, as a whole, present a convincing endorsement of teachers who work for the general well-being of mental health of boys and girls. Unfortunately, many teachers are unprepared by their training and experience for such an approach to education. However, this approach is in accord with the recommendations of leaders in the field of child study who believe that education should be considered as a process that seeks the maximum development of every child in terms of his unique nature and needs. And mental hygienists assert that, unless there is a reasonable satisfaction for basic needs, a harmonious life design is rarely achieved. Many teachers also share this opinion. Increasingly they are seeking to develop classroom atmosphere and experiences in school that fulfil basic human needs.

Parents, too, are becoming aware of the significance of the basic needs of the child. They recognize that the growing child needs conditions which promote mental health quite as much as he needs

[32] E. C. Hall, "Six Questions for Teachers," *Understanding the Child*, XXI (October, 1952), 118-20.

proper food and other requirements for wholesome physical development. They realize that traits such as self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem are nourished by the discriminating use of recognition and praise and by providing numerous occasions for each child to learn to take part successfully in group activities. Under such conditions, boys and girls find it easier and more pleasant to master various tasks in and out of school. Moreover, the satisfactions they feel in their own accomplishment contribute to mental health.

Children who fail in school are often tragic examples of the effects of unsympathetic, indifferent, or over-exacting parents or of unwholesome home conditions. They are products, too, of unsympathetic attitudes, undesirable classroom atmosphere, and inefficient instruction.

Teachers and parents are beginning to appreciate their mutual responsibilities and the need for co-operative endeavor. They realize that if a child is given affection and encouragement in completing worth-while tasks at home under stable, reassuring conditions, he is usually well-prepared for a successful school life. And he needs to have a classroom teacher who continues to offer him security and sympathetic guidance. Accordingly, a good classroom in many ways resembles a good home. In both of them boys and girls find a friendly atmosphere, pleasant physical surroundings, and encouraging attitudes on the part of adults. These conditions contribute to each child's happiness and to his steady progress in acquiring a useful education. This is the opinion of experts in the field of mental hygiene and of child development. And it is also the judgment of boys and girls clearly reflected in their letters describing their best teachers.

Mental Health through Teacher Education

E. T. MC SWAIN

AND

L. D. HASKEW

Introduction

Mental health is the result of living and learning. It is a personal way of appraising one's self and others with respect to personal goals and environmental situations.[1] Students may examine in a mental-hygiene course the various factors which promote or impair development of good mental health. However, the quality of mental health possessed by each prospective teacher is influenced by the values, attitudes, and feelings which exist in his "under-the-skin" living.[2] Wholesome mental health is learned and is lived to the degree that students experience it. The sustaining roots of personal health are within the values, thoughts, and actions of individuals.

The goal of teacher education is to promote the maximum mental and emotional maturity of the student. The institutional facilities such as buildings, equipment, administrative organization and budget, teachers, and curriculum are effective only when they serve students in developing intelligent minds, controlled emotions, and faith in democratic education. Mental health of faculty and student body is the serious concern of all institutions which accept the responsibility of preparing students for teaching children and youth.

Vision and faith underlie mental health. Vision includes psychological as well as biological elements. Each individual receives impressions of people, events, and resources in the external environment in accord with his own psychological set. He draws upon past

[1] For other definitions and emphases, see chaps. ii and iv.

[2] Lawrence K. Frank, *Nature and Human Nature.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1951.

learnings and feelings in creating new mental and emotional inter-
pretations and appraisals of the impressions received through the
sense organs. Meaningful learnings and healthy emotions contribute
to wholeness of personal living. Faith in one's ability to achieve
desired goals is a fundamental factor in developing and in main-
taining good mental health. The more the educational objectives of
an institution motivate students to live the good life, the greater the
probability that they will learn through living the meaning and value
of mental hygiene.

Wholesome mental health is as essential in successful teaching as
academic knowledge and professional skills. The mental-hygiene
climate of a teacher-education institution is determined in large
measure by the attitudes of the faculty toward such questions as:
(*a*) What is done by administrators and teachers to provide condi-
tions that facilitate wholesome learning and living on the part of
students? (*b*) What is the effect of instructional methods on the
mental health of students? (*c*) What standards of mental health are
required for participants in student teaching and for recommenda-
tion of candidates for teaching positions? (*d*) What does the faculty
believe to be the intellectual and emotional requirements for mature
living in a complex and rapidly changing society? (*e*) To what
extent does an understanding of conditions and trends in contem-
porary society help prepare prospective teachers to recognize and
to serve the mental-health needs of children and youth? (*f*) In what
degree do mature vision, faith in democratic education, and readiness
to accept responsibility for service to other persons nurture de-
velopment and practice of good mental health?

Mental Hygiene and Social Change

Living in the second half of the twentieth century requires dis-
ciplined minds, moral character, spiritual faith, and emotional sta-
bility. An effective philosophy of life and education will be as im-
portant as technical knowledge for creative and socially significant
living in this period which has been defined by E. J. Trueblood
as *The Dawn of a Post-Modern Era.*[3] Teachers must comprehend
The Big Change[4] that has characterized the past fifty years and

[3] E. J. Trueblood, *The Dawn of a Post-Modern Era.* New York: Philo-
sophical Library, 1954.

[4] Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

must be prepared to envisage the scope and speed of environmental changes which may be introduced in the next fifty years. Teacher-education institutions can render distinct service to schools and society by providing a curriculum that will assist prospective teachers in acquiring a meaningful understanding of societal change and in developing professional competencies in appraising the impact of this accelerated change on the mental and emotional maturing of young people.

Impact of Air Transportation. Change in the geographical features of the earth has been relatively slow. The distance around the globe at the equator is still approximately 25,000 miles. Man's control over the physical environment has advanced amazingly in a relatively short span of time. Unfortunately, this technological advance appears to have multiplied the causes of anxiety and insecurity as well as those of complacency. The most pressing forces to be dealt with in the years ahead are psychological, emotional, economic, and political. Mechanical instruments are ineffective in finding solutions to the problems of insecurity, fear, group tension, international conflict, lack of vision, and desire to escape from the consequences of one's personal and social behavior. Modern man must through education learn to speak for himself [5] if he is to maintain mental health in coping with the opportunities and problems of modern society.

Teachers in public and private schools should comprehend the human problems and tensions brought about by the decrease in travel distance around the globe. Advancement in aviation makes it possible to reach the most distant country in less than thirty flying hours. Many children and youths now in school will travel during their life span to more world-neighbor countries than today's adults have traveled to different states in this country. Jet-propelled aviation will further reduce the transportation time from continent to continent. In a few years people will make the journey from the United States to England in three to four hours. Nonstop flights from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts in the United States will require between three and four flying hours. This accelerated mobility within a continent and between continents will be commonly accepted in the next half-century.

[5] Norman Cousins, *Who Speaks for Man?* New York: Macmillan Co., 1953.

The minds and emotions of tomorrow's adults must be prepared through education to use rapid transportation as a means of improving human relations essential for international co-operation and world peace. Teachers should recognize that small minds and frustrated emotions may use modern aviation to spread human misunderstanding, prejudice, and international discord.

Impact of Mass Media of Communication on Mental Health. Mass communication has created the need for mature minds and emotions. The communication size of the globe has been reduced to minutes. New means of mind-to-mind contact enable millions of persons to evaluate daily the news about events, political tensions, economic problems, and philosophical ideas from all parts of the world. The psychological reaction which people make to what they hear and observe on radio and television depends upon the reliability and maturity of their minds.[6] Prospective teachers will be seriously handicapped unless their preparation has equipped them to examine critically the relationship between global communication and mental health. Imperative is the need for teachers to assist children and youth in studying the serious consequences to people and to nations if mass media of communication continue to be used to engender suspicion, fear, and selfish nationalism.

Mature Minds for Living in a Global World. Many people are frustrated mentally and emotionally because they have difficulty in comprehending the increased interdependence among the nations of the modern world. They experience poor mental health because education has not prepared them to deal realistically with the tensions and problems of an interdependent world. The climate of fear that appears to be nation-wide is a warning symptom of the poor mental health of many adults.

Teachers in today's schools have an obligation to society to offer a curriculum and instructional methods which will equip young people with the faith and courage to seek causes of and solutions to international misunderstandings and social tensions. Teachers need to be well informed on international conditions and trends if they are to assist young people in developing the values, attitudes, and concepts essential in world citizenship.

[6] *Mass Media and Education,* pp. 113-64. Fifty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Teacher-education institutions have an obligation to society to provide courses and seminars in which prospective teachers may acquire an understanding of the geography, culture, economics, and government of people in the world-neighbor countries. Competencies in international issues and trends are essential for effective leadership in teaching in the elementary and secondary schools.

Mental Health in the Out-of-School Life of Teachers

Teachers are citizens as well as professional people. Healthy participation in community life is a prerequisite for creative, satisfying teaching in the classroom. Teacher-education programs should assist prospective teachers in gaining an understanding of the nature and the probable impact of many out-of-school factors on their personal health. A knowledge of the community and its varied forces will assist young teachers in interpreting the impact of community life on the mental health of children, parents, and school people. Directed observation of and participation in community activities are valuable means not only for acquiring information but also for developing good mental health.

Happy family life is an asset in wholesome living. However, many married teachers experience emotional strain in maintaining a proper balance between teaching duties and family responsibilities. Problems such as family budget, care and education of children, limited time for reading and recreation, and housekeeping responsibility may introduce serious deterrents to normal mental health.

School administrators and boards of education should examine carefully the probable impact of school policy on the out-of-school life of teachers. Some causes of emotional strain may be removed by inaugurating such practices as: (*a*) keeping to a minimum the number of professional meetings held in the late afternoon and on Saturday; (*b*) observing an announced calendar so that teachers may plan with assurance their out-of-school responsibilities, (*c*) establishing an adequate salary schedule, and (*d*) providing a health-insurance program for teachers.

Unmarried teachers should experience normal out-of-school living. Many of these teachers may find difficulty in escaping the emotional strain of problems such as: (*a*) obtaining comfortable, conveniently located, and reasonably priced housing, (*b*) care and

support of dependents, (c) pressure to accept leadership in church and civic activities, (d) monetary inflation, (e) imposition of social standards different from what is expected of all intelligent citizens, (f) lack of freedom to engage in political affairs, and (g) personal budget. In many cases, the impact of community factors on the personal and professional life of unmarried teachers may be a significant deterrent to good mental health in the classroom. Provision in school for professional counseling facilities for both married and unmarried teachers is as essential for maintaining a healthy mental-hygiene climate in the classroom as is the provision of a guidance program for children and youth.

Research in psychology and methodology has contributed to continuous improvement in the classroom curriculum. There is urgent need for colleges and universities to support research on the probable impact of many family and community factors on the mental health of teachers, and also of school administrators. In addition, these institutions have the responsibility to provide professional consultant service which will aid school administrators in designing policies and practices for maintaining good mental health for teachers and pupils. Modern industrial and business firms recognize the productive as well as the human value of improved working conditions and counseling service for safeguarding the mental health of employees. School systems will be in a better position to recruit and retain competent teachers when leadership and facilities are provided to safeguard the mental health of all school personnel.

Effects of Unwarranted Criticism and Regulation on the Mental Health of School Personnel

School people accept constructive criticism as a necessary means to improve the objectives, curriculum, and outcomes of elementary and secondary education. Constructive criticism in recent decades has motivated educational experimentation, appraisal of newer instructional methods and materials, and discussion of divergent views in educational philosophy and psychology.

Since 1948, however, a subtle and negative type of criticism has been expressed in magazine articles, pamphlets, and books. Many generalized accusations have been expressed in colorful, emotionalized language without supporting evidence. These extreme criti-

cisms have caused unrest, suspicion, and dissension among many parents and laymen concerning the objectives of and results obtained by the schools. Such criticism, if not properly evaluated, can impair seriously the mental health of teachers and can create a barrier to the recruiting of able young men and women for teaching. Unfortunately, the persons susceptible to the most serious consequences from community conflicts resulting from these extreme accusations are children and youth.

Teachers are professional people. They are also loyal American citizens. Boards of education should examine the probable effect on the emotional health and professional integrity of teachers of such current trends as: (a) unjust accusations against the public schools, (b) legislative enactment of loyalty-oath requirements, (c) censorship of textbooks, (d) required examination of teachers on the federal and state constitutions, and (e) regulations preventing teaching about United Nations and UNESCO in the classroom. Free public education and a democratic school environment conducive to good mental health cannot survive if it is subjected to "extreme" and "uninformed" criticism and unwarranted, highly restricting legislation.

Teacher-education institutions can be effective in helping prospective teachers develop the following competencies: (a) reading and evaluating school criticism, (b) classifying the critics as to purpose, type, and qualification, (c) identifying the individuals and organizations regularly engaged in making these criticisms, (d) learning appropriate methods for interpreting the school to the public, and (e) appraising the validity of the criticisms made against the public school. The leadership of college administrators can be most helpful in protecting the morale of school people and future teachers in times of "extreme" criticism against the public schools.

The mental health of administrators, teachers, and pupils during the coming decade when the schools will have an unprecedented high enrolment is of supreme importance in the nation's effort to protect our democratic way of life and education. Mental health is a concomitant of personal and social living. Teacher-education institutions can render a distinct professional service to children and to the nation as a whole by accepting responsibility for dynamic leadership in a program that will assist prospective teachers to understand the requirements of mental health and to experience situations

which are conducive to good mental health. These institutions also have the responsibility to help prospective teachers develop academic and professional competencies which will equip them to ensure the mental and emotional maturing of children and youth. Mental health in teacher education is an objective that should enlist the vision, leadership, and support of all college teachers and administrators.

Competencies Related to Mental Health in Teaching

Teaching is a process that affects the teachers as well as their students. Whether the teacher experiences a feeling of satisfaction or aesthetic accomplishment depends upon his ability to use functional knowledge and method in his teaching field. Mental health in teaching is also influenced by preparation for teaching. Teachers who have acquired academic and professional competencies have the best chance to experience personal adequacy, and they are also in the best position to give children and youth an opportunity to find personal satisfaction in self-education. Creative teaching is the attainable goal of persons who, in addition to other qualities, have acquired a knowledge of their subject and of the teaching-learning process as well as of the behavior and developmental needs of children and young people. Awareness of weakness in one's academic and professional preparation contributes to a feeling of insecurity and emotional conflict.

There are competencies in academic and professional education which are essential to successful teaching in every teaching field, for example, general education. Teachers in the primary and intermediate grades should be as well prepared in general education as teachers in secondary schools. Standards of competency in professional preparation should be comparable for teaching in elementary schools and in secondary schools. Teacher-education programs should be designed to assist prospective teachers to develop such competencies as: (*a*) an understanding of community life, (*b*) a knowledge of the nature and developmental behavior of human beings, (*c*) a meaningful interpretation of the ideas and values inherent in democracy, (*d*) an understanding of the economic principles which sustain the American system of free enterprise in business and in education, (*e*) a comprehension of the complexity of the teaching-learning process, (*f*) an appreciation of our cultural

heritage, and (g) a faith in an evolving democratic society. Young teachers who have acquired such competencies will be prepared to help design a curriculum that will serve the developmental needs of children and youth and will also offer realistic preparation for intelligent citizenship.

Teaching is a unique process of socio-psycho-emotional behavior. Environmental factors, such as administrative policy and requirements, faculty morale, the structure of the community, curriculum objectives and materials, and class size, have a unique effect upon each teacher's physical and mental health. However, the factors which may have greatest effect on mental health in teaching are the competencies acquired during the period of preparation for teaching. These competencies affect one's purpose, attitude, efficiency, interest, and self-appraisal. These learnings determine the quality of mental health experienced in teaching. Mature personality and academic-professional competencies are indispensable in developing and in maintaining good mental health in the art and science of teaching. The following list is offered as a suggested selection of goals which the conscientious teacher may properly strive to attain. Seldom will anyone realize all of these aims, but the ideal should be kept in mind.

COMPETENCIES CONTRIBUTING TO GOOD MENTAL HEALTH IN TEACHING

1. Each teacher should acquire and maintain certain qualities which are characteristic of a mature personality:
   —good physical health and appropriate health habits.
   —emotional control, personal poise, self-reliance, social tact, and confidence.
   —ability to work co-operatively with other persons.

2. Each teacher should develop a philosophy of life and education:
   —a code of moral values for directing and appraising personal and social behavior.
   —an appreciation of the values and principles inherent in democracy.
   —an understanding of the goals, principles, and practices involved in democratic education.
   —an awareness of the relationship between teaching and learning.

3. Each teacher should possess a knowledge of the nature of human growth and development:
   —an understanding of the nature and uniqueness of human behavior.
   —a recognition of the nature and function of individual differences.
   —an understanding of the personal and social problems and tensions

experienced by children and youth in finding adequacy in living
and working with peer associates and adults.
—a recognition that mental health is a learned way of personal inter-
action with other persons.

4. Each teacher should possess an appreciation and understanding of the
meaning and practice of democracy in the classroom.
—readiness to discover and to respect the worth of each individual.
—provide leadership and opportunity for co-operative planning, exe-
cuting, and evaluating of curriculum activities.
—encourage members of the classroom society to formulate desirable
citizenship objectives and duties.
—assist pupils in learning responsibility through participation in
socially useful work.
—provide leadership and practice in individual and group decision-
making.

5. Each teacher should have an understanding of the objectives and
functions of such social institutions as the family, the church, gov-
ernmental agencies, and the school:
—a recognition of the cultural background and the evolutionary
process.
—an appreciation of the effect of the institutions on the personal
development and social living of young people.
—a recognition that the value of these institutions is based on their
contribution to the improvement of the general welfare of people.

6. Each teacher should have a knowledge of the ideas, leaders, and
events that produced the American heritage:
—an appreciation of the ideals and ideas that motivated historic
actions.
—an understanding of the leaders who gave direction to the
human experiment in social, political, economic, and educational
democracy.
—respect and support for freedom of worship, speech, assembly,
franchise, and education.

7. Each teacher should have acquired academic competency in identify-
ing and in understanding the significant issues and trends in con-
temporary American society:
—a recognition of the economic, political, and sociological issues and
trends.
—an understanding of the historical foundations of societal issues
and trends.
—a recognition of the impact of industrial change on personal and
social living.
—an understanding of the educational requirements for dealing in-
telligently with such contemporary issues as housing, management-

labor relations, local autonomy, and federal authority in government.

8. Each teacher should have a knowledge of the life, culture, and government of peoples in various countries:
   —an understanding of the geographical features and their impact on personal and industrial life.
   —a recognition of the similarities in the basic human needs of the people of the world.
   —an awareness of the educational impact of the education, customs, religion, economics, and politics in different countries.
   —an understanding of the "true-to-facts" conditions, issues, and trends in the world-neighbor countries.
   —an appreciation of the effect of racial and ethnic factors on the personal and social development of young people and on their mental hygiene.

9. Each teacher should possess an understanding of the increasing interdependence among the nations of the world:
   —a recognition of the events, inventions, and needs which accelerated interdependence among nations.
   —a knowledge of the international agencies created to promote improved relations among the different nations.
   —an awareness of the contribution that education can make to improving world understanding.

10. Each teacher should have understandings and appreciations in the humanities:
    —an appreciation of music and its contribution to creative living and mental health.
    —an appreciation of art and its contribution to improvement in personal and community living.
    —an appreciation of literature and its value in personal behavior and in mental hygiene.

11. Each teacher should have an understanding of the moral values and ethics of the teaching profession:
    —an understanding of the history and progress of the profession.
    —acceptance of a code of professional ethics in all relationships with teachers, administrators, and laymen.
    —an understanding of the objectives and services of the local, state, and national educational organizations.
    —readiness to participate as a contributing member in educational organizations.
    —acceptance of responsibility to share in maintaining and in improving standards of teacher certification and of teacher employment.
    —acceptance of responsibility to work for improvement in conditions affecting the mental health of all school personnel.

12. Each teacher should possess abilities in effective use of expressive and receptive communication:
    —a recognition of the contribution of critical reading to mental health.
    —an understanding of the psychological-emotional-social nature and consequences of expressive communication.
    —a recognition of the difference between language as a system of symbols and as a way of thought and action.
    —readiness to listen to one's own language to comprehend its probable interpretation by and effect on other persons.

Teacher Education and the Mental Health of the Teacher

IMPORTANCE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

A two-fold task faces administrators and faculty who would design and preside over the education of prospective teachers and help to plan the continued education of teachers in service. First, the teacher as a person must be accustomed to live and to think in ways that are mentally healthful and that sustain healthy living. Second, the teacher as a professional leader must be prepared to observe and to minister to the mental-health needs of all the individuals with whom he associates in teacher-pupil relationships. That these two aspects of the mental-health program for teacher-education are closely interrelated is obvious. Of course the mental health of the teacher will affect his psychological-emotional interaction with pupils. The character of these teacher-pupil relationships will in turn affect the teacher.

If mental health is a process of "private" reaction to one's environment in ways that integrate and strengthen one's adaptation to that environment, it follows that education for mental health is primarily a matter of guiding the purposes and practices of personal-environmental interaction. The person who is most likely to deal successfully with environmental situations tomorrow is one who deals meaningfully and adequately with environmental situations today, to the extent that the "fields" represented by the situations remain similar. It would appear that little is to be gained by surrounding prospective teachers with situations so controlled, so "fully tempered to the shorn lamb" that they will be unrelated to realistic living. At the same time, it is highly important that the total living of prospective teachers—in residence halls, in campus activities, in

extracurricular endeavors, and in classroom enterprises—be designed to nourish and promote sound mental health. In other words, the mental-health program for young teachers, unlike such matters as developing an understanding of the scientific bases for modern living and having direct experience with children and youth, cannot be delegated to one or another division of the college. Leadership and activity designed to develop mental health are a function of all parts of the college environment.

Of primary concern is the mental health of the faculty members who make up such an important part of the college environment. The college teacher who is a cynic, a sadist, or a martinet may do irreparable harm. The faculty member whose philosophy of life and education causes him to strive to be a humanitarian, a tolerant person, or an optimist can exert a good influence on the mental health of students.

The structure of mental health is built upon a foundation of values that are understood, accepted, and applied by the individual. If the value-foundation is contradictory, the superstructure will be weak. When the value-foundation is consistent and strong, the structure can withstand great stresses and strains. The college which accepts the responsibility to prepare students for teaching should, therefore, give special attention to helping students build life-orientation values that will endure. Some provisions for developing values may be formal, such as those in classes and seminars in philosophy and ethics. Some may be "incidental," as products of discussion. Courses may stress religious values, too. Other provisions may be found in individualized and group counseling services. In addition, the college faculty cannot forget that more values are caught than are taught. The college's emphasis upon marks, upon certain types of objective evaluation, upon the superiority or inferiority of certain classes of people, upon the dignity and worth of individuals, upon the values of democratic human relations, and so forth, affects the value scales which students acquire when teaching.

VALUES OF AN EXPERIENCE CURRICULUM

The substance of the curriculum of teacher education must include study of the nature of human personality and the social matrix

which determines it, and this study should be focused upon the development of sympathetic understanding rather than the acquisition of nomenclature. The substance will also include consideration of peoples of different economic, ethnic, and geographical backgrounds—whose variations are seen as normal products of their environment, needs, and values.

Participation and practice, guided by competent teachers, will include all sorts of group endeavor, such as student government activities, student advisory councils, sharing in curriculum improvement and evaluation of college instruction, socially useful work in community agencies, committees designed to formulate and to administer policy and regulations related to campus life, and shared responsibility for improving the objectives and outcomes of course work. Participation without guidance is educative, but not necessarily desirable. The faculty and administration of a college engaged in teacher education should not be satisfied with the mere provision of opportunities for students to engage in group endeavors. Instead, attention and time will be given to providing guidance for participation in student and faculty groups.

It has been pointed out that the environment in which teachers will function in the coming years will be one in which they may likely find themselves in the center of controversy, where they will be publicly misunderstood or maligned or subjected to emotionalized pressures by various adult groups. Most college curriculums now provide prospective teachers with only slight contact with adults, and little, if any, experience in dealing with controversial situations. The content of many professional courses, when properly planned, motivates and provides contact with and specific attention to current controversies regarding the meaning and role of education in individual and community life. The student teaching experiences may well be expanded, as in many present-day institutions, to include extensive contact with varied types of adult situations as well as greater participation in the full range of duties expected of teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Students thus will have an opportunity, under professional guidance, to maintain emotional control when dealing with situations involving tension, strain, and conflict.

FUNCTIONS OF A GUIDANCE PROGRAM IN RELATION TO
MENTAL HEALTH

Attention is directed to an individualized aspect that is of great importance. Since mental health is an individual matter, it is essential that any program in teacher education provide for a high degree of intimate, personal guidance for each student. Provision of psychological and psychiatric clinical services, as well as specialized counseling centers, is advocated. However, these services are not substitutes for continuous concern for the personal development of each student.

Valuable results are being achieved in introductory mental hygiene and guidance courses for prospective teachers. At Ohio State University, for example, a two-quarter beginning course called *Education Survey* is conducted as a laboratory offering which deals with the student as an individual and as a member of the group.[7] Other colleges are developing deeply-probing seminar offerings for experienced teachers and administrators which affect both self-orientation and orietation to others.[8]

A faculty-student advisory program is a distinct feature of a balanced curriculum for prospective teachers. Some colleges maintain a faculty-sponsor system that provides a friendly and sympathetic contact between a faculty member and fifteen to twenty students over a period of four or five years. Other colleges employ successful combinations of the personal-development aspect of teacher education with curriculum advisement. A somewhat new plan offers a "core" course that extends over two or more years as the center for frequent conferences between the student and a faculty sponsor, employing extensive diagnostic testing and other personality-appraisal procedures and data. In these and similar programs, personal mental hygiene is an integral part of faculty-student counseling and professional, individualized preparation for teaching.

Irish and Byers describe a program in effect at Santa Barbara College designed to enrich learning experiences in human relationships. The college leads prospective teachers to engage in extensive

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[7] Collins W. Burnett and Alice Z. Seeman, "Guidance of College Freshmen in Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education,* III (March, 1952), 19-22.

[8] Several such offerings are described in the *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. X, No. 2 (1954).

self-study through the use of tests, rating scales, and other devices. Contacts between faculty and students to discuss self-evaluations and plans for self-improvement are arranged. The student-teaching experience is made rich with opportunities to assess the student's impact upon the mental health of young people, as well as the impact of teaching upon the psychological and emotional orientation of the teacher in training.[9]

In colleges and universities where the faculty and students become vitally concerned about the personal-social development of prospective teachers, the foundation is provided for selective guidance that enables students fully to comprehend the personal-academic-professional qualifications for teaching. In the course of this personalized counseling, some students may find good reasons to choose a career other than teaching. Responsibility for the mental health of children places upon counselors the obligation to steer emotionally disturbed or mentally insecure persons away from teaching. While many experiments have been made with various screening devices at the admission level, little evidence has been adduced to demonstrate the validity of tests, interviews, rating scales and other means to determine potential qualifications for and success in teaching.[10] Considerable evidence does exist to show that a continuous process of screening through a counseling process conducted by the faculty, which offers intimate personal contacts supplemented by diagnostic measurement data, is quite effective in eliminating those students who do not possess the necessary qualifications. While the positive, preventive approach to the development of sound mental health for teachers is the one most likely to produce the best results, a teacher-education program must include the most effective means available for locating and eliminating students with poor mental health or with marked personality handicaps.

In summary, the mental health of prospective teachers is an all-college concern and the program for strengthening it should be woven into all the activities of college life. The college program should include the provision of mature, able faculty members to

[9] Elizabeth H. Irish and Loretta Byers, "Helping Students Grow in Democratic Human Relations," *Journal of Teacher Education*, III (September, 1952), 209-13.

[10] See chap. xiii.

assist prospective teachers continuously with problems of personal development. While the teacher-education institution should accept the responsibility for steering from the teaching profession individuals with serious maladjustments, its primary focus should be upon a positive program for fostering sound mental health of all students. The faculty should also accept the professional obligation to deny recommendation for student teaching and for teacher certification to any student who does not possess sound mental health.

Equipping Teachers To Minister to the Mental-Health Needs of Children and Youth

BASIC COURSES IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The teacher is much more than an incidental part of the environment that affects the mental health of children and youth. At best, the teacher is a constructive, skilful promoter of the mental hygiene of the young people who attend school.

In recent years increased attention has been given to the study of human development as the core of professional teacher preparation. Some colleges are providing a two-year or three-year sequence of experiences designed to give students a deep understanding of children through studying, observing, and working with them. Such developments are to be highly commended by those interested in mental hygiene. It is manifestly impossible for a young college student to identify himself sufficiently with the nature, needs, and problems of children unless he has had extended contact, under guidance, with children. In addition he must have had sufficient time to digest the wealth of scientific evidence now available. It is somewhat ironic that the penetrating study of children has seldom been introduced into preparation programs for secondary-school teachers, who will be dealing with adolescents. The successes already achieved in the best preparation programs for elementary-school teachers should spur on the attempts of curriculum builders to devise equally effective professional sequences for those who will deal with teenagers. The basic structure of teacher education should take increasing cognizance of the role of the teacher in shaping the lives of children. The professional teacher's chief stock in trade should be expert knowledge of the human organism and its responses to the environment in which it is nurtured. No briefly treated abstract

knowledge of "child psychology" will be sufficient for the forward-looking program of teacher education. Instead, the student must lay a comprehensive foundation for understanding children and acquire the disposition to continue, as the medical practitioner continues, with his professional development as an expert in understanding people. Menninger has noted the significance of this aspect of teacher education in the following statement:

> Second in importance to the teacher's personality is his possession of a body of knowledge about the psychological growth of the child that should be provided in his training. Unfortunately, this has been given him only rarely and inadequately. This training should include an understanding of the psychological dynamics and the multiple roles that the teacher must play. Primarily, he is a parent surrogate, not merely substituting for, but perhaps also correcting, supplementing, and modifying the influence of the real parent. He is an expediter of growth—intellectual, emotional, physical, and social. He automatically represents a set of moral and ethical values with which the student may identify. By his example he establishes interpersonal relations which serve as a pattern for the student to follow. Finally, he is the imparter of certain specific information. To play these roles, the teacher must have a thorough knowledge of psychological dynamics. Those roles cannot be handled effectively merely on the basis of intuition plus one's personal life experience.[11]

MENTAL-HEALTH EMPHASES IN STUDENT TEACHING

Unfortunately, it appears that automatic carry-over seldom operates between an understanding of children and classroom teaching. Several studies suggest that teachers who rank high in sympathy and in constructiveness of personal relations with children are as likely to employ classroom procedures that violate sound principles of mental hygiene as are teachers who rank low on the qualities named. "Good" teachers may follow textbooks as slavishly, employ competitive games and devices as frequently, and apparently expect every child to do the same work as often as the "poor" teachers. The implications for teacher education are clear. First of all, the methodology being taught should be subjected to critical, detailed analysis from the standpoint of mental hygiene. Second, observation of classroom procedures should be followed by faculty-student

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[11] William C. Menninger, "Mental Health in Our Schools," *Educational Leadership*, VII (May, 1950), 515.

evaluations of the mental-health effects of what has been observed. Third, and perhaps most important, the college supervision of student teaching should be such that the relationship of the mental-health approach will be accurately translated into classroom procedures. Seldom are subject-matter specialists who serve as college supervisors equipped to insure this translation. To do this, co-operative supervision involving child development specialists as well as subject-matter authorities is recommended. Apparently it is chiefly in the student-teaching experience that the college student makes permanent ties between the nature of children and the nature of teaching. It is at this point in the preparation program, then, that the college needs to give great attention to making the mental-health approach a practical approach.

Continued education of the teacher on the job can have highly beneficial effects in establishing the necessary connections between principles of mental health, on the one hand, and actual classroom practices on the other hand. Strides in this direction have been taken in workshops and work-conferences on human relations, as well as through regularly scheduled in-service education programs.[12] Rankin and Dorsey described significant outcomes from a five-year project in Detroit which has combined the services of psychiatrists and psychologists with those of methodologists and instructional supervisors in dianosing classroom situations and proposing changes to be tried out by co-operating classroom teachers.[13]

THE USE OF SPECIALISTS IN THE FIELD OF MENTAL HEALTH

A third consideration looms with increasing importance for those who would equip teachers-to-be to deal constructively with the mental health of children and youth. This consideration involves provision of a greater opportunity for the classroom teacher to refer deviates to centers for psychological and remedial services. School systems are adding psychologists, counselors, clinicians, and special teachers at a rapid rate. Other community and governmental agen-

[12] Hilda Taba et al., *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1952.
Hilda Taba, *Leadership Training in Intergroup Education: Evaluation of Workshops*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1953.

[13] Paul T. Rankin and J. M. Dorsey, "Detroit School Mental-Health Project: A Five-Year Report." *Mental Hygiene*, XXXVII (April, 1953), 228-48.

cies are doing likewise. These facilities can be a great boon to the cause of mental health, but only if they are used effectively. The classroom teacher is increasingly called upon to play a new role, that of locating children in need of special services, referring them to the proper agency, and co-operating with the agency in therapeutic measures. The prospective teacher needs more than casual acquaintance with work of such specialists. Some colleges are including reference to special services in the sequence of courses in community sociology, educational psychology, and the modern secondary school. Other colleges are arranging for brief "internships" in such agencies as part of the laboratory experience program.[14]

It has been proposed that teacher-education programs have three outstanding characteristics designed to equip prospective teachers to deal constructively with the mental health of children and youth. The programs should revolve around two to four years of depth-study of children and youth. They should make a practical carry-over between the mental-health approach and what is learned about classroom procedures and teaching methods. Finally, they should provide students with adequate orientation to the specialized clinical and psychological services available to teachers in the modern school system.

[14] Maurice F. Freehill, "Social Group Work as a Teacher Laboratory," *Journal of Teacher Education*, II (September, 1951), 204-8.

Fostering Teacher Growth

PAUL T. RANKIN

Teaching is coming of age as a profession. It is being used less frequently by men as a stepping stone to other careers or by women as an interim occupation before marriage. Men increasingly tend to stay in the teaching profession. Women, in most sections of the country, no longer find that marriage means an automatic resignation; rather do they continue to teach, although they may take some years off to have and to rear their children.

The average teacher in 1955 has probably taught fifteen or more years and expects to continue for another fifteen or more years. In Detroit, for example, the median age of teachers in June, 1953, was 46.5 for women and 42.7 for men. The improved programs of initial teacher education which now prevail were not in effect when the overwhelming majority of teachers now in service had their training. Only a small minority of those who are now teaching received very much help during their college years to become effective exponents of education judged to be good in terms of its effect on the mental health of their pupils.

The problem, therefore, that confronts most school systems, and particularly those in large cities where tenure is the rule rather than the exception, is to help teachers now in service to grow in such ways as to make more certain that the children in their care will be mentally healthy. For the generation of teachers now in the schools, no changes in initial teacher education can be of much assistance. Reliance must be placed on growth and development on the job, supplemented by such summer school and off-campus classes as the teachers may take. Each school system needs to find ways through which the present staff may be stimulated and aided in their own growth process. It should be noted that the term "teacher" as

used here includes not only the classroom teacher but also the principal, the department head, the supervisor, the superintendent—indeed everyone who has qualifications as a teacher.

Objectives

The prime objective of teacher growth from the point of view of education for mental health is the kind of teacher whose total influence on the children and youth in his care will be to maintain and improve their mental health. Putting it negatively, the objective is a teacher who does not injure or lower the mental health of his pupils.

As has been indicated in previous discussions [1] in this yearbook, there is no conclusive research as to the characteristics of effective teachers—effective from the point of view of their good influence on the mental health of children in their care. The indications from the studies, however, may be expressed in the following specific goals:

1. A teacher who likes children and youth. This is so fundamental and yet so simple that it seems almost unnecessary to state the fact. Fortunately, most teachers genuinely like children. Unfortunately, there are some who do not.
2. A teacher who is himself well adjusted and mentally healthy and thus exemplifies mental health for his pupils.
3. A teacher who is informed about what is known as to mental health in relation to education.
4. A teacher who understands the general course of the growth and development of children, and who can use varied techniques for getting to know individual children and their needs.
5. A teacher who provides a classroom climate conducive to mental health.
6. A teacher who helps individual pupils meet their basic emotional needs.
7. A teacher who can identify children with serious problems and who knows how and where to refer them for help.

Potential Influences on Teacher Growth

In order to plan effective ways of promoting teacher growth, let us examine the factors that may possibly help a teacher change and grow.

[1] See chap. xiii.

To a degree, everything that the teacher sees, feels, hears, reads, or experiences is potentially a source of change in his behavior. Occasionally a teacher may change materially after hearing a single talk, as for example a lecture by Hughes Mearns which describes the increased creativeness and happiness of children under certain conditions of encouragement and support. For another teacher a significant influence may be seeing a film like *The Roots of Happiness*, or *The Feeling of Dependency*. Another teacher may read a book like *Father of the Man* [2] and, in consequence, come to accept and appreciate more the children and families of a social class different from his own. Indeed, everything that the teacher experiences may bring about change in his attitudes and behavior.

There are two factors that appear to have especially great influence on the quality and direction of a teacher's growth. One is the way the teacher himself is treated as a person. The teacher who feels secure in his job, who receives the recognition and praise due him from his superiors, who feels himself justly treated, who feels that he belongs to and is accepted by the group of which he is a member—such a teacher is predisposed toward continuing growth in his own mental health and in his ability to affect for the good the mental health of the children he teaches. On the contrary, the teacher who feels he has been passed over unjustly for promotion, who rarely or never gets a pat on the back for good work, or who is rejected by his associates is just as surely predisposed to poor mental health and to being a bad influence on his pupils.

Note that it is not alone the type of treatment which he receives as a teacher in the school that affects his possibilities for growth. The way in which he is treated in his home and in his other associations is also a factor affecting his personal adjustment. The teacher who is rejected by wife or husband at home, or who has some other serious problem outside of school, may find it difficult to maintain his own mental health and to grow professionally in his school work. In such cases the principal, other teachers, and the supervisor or the superintendent have a great opportunity to help by giving extra attention and consideration which may partially compensate for the bad treatment at home. The kind of treatment which a teacher

[2] Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

receives at school, at home, or elsewhere has great implications for the extent of his own growth and emotional adjustment.

A second major factor of high potential influence on the teacher's growth is the point of view held by the persons whom that teacher admires and likes. It is a matter of common knowledge that one tends to accept the attitudes and views held by those people whom one especially respects and cares for. Thus Miss Jones, a young, third-grade teacher, will tend to accept and adopt in her own practice the point of view about children, or the means of getting to know individual children, or the general pattern of classroom control used by the teacher next door, Mrs. Wysocki—*if* she admires Mrs. Wysocki as a teacher and likes her as a person. Similarly, Miss Jones will tend to accept and utilize the ideas of the principal—if she admires and likes that principal. Contrariwise, Miss Jones is likely to deny and not to adopt the personal qualities and classroom practices of another teacher whom she does not admire and like. In general, one tends to change one's own attitudes in the direction of those held by persons who are admired and liked, and away from those held by persons who are not respected and admired. There is also a tendency for one to take on the values accepted by most of the group in which one finds himself.

If these are two of the major factors affecting the growth of a teacher, the implications seem rather clear. The first is to see to it that every teacher feels he is treated well, both generally as a person in all his contacts and specifically as a member of the educational staff. The second is to seek to influence the leaders—the persons who have greatest prestige with teachers—in the direction desired. It should be noted that "leaders" as the term is here used include not only those in positions of status leadership, such as principals, officers of teacher organizations, supervisors, and superintendents, but also those who are accepted, looked up to, admired, and followed by other teachers even though they may not be in positions of authority.

Ways of Fostering Teacher Growth

Recent years have seen a marked change in the pattern of curriculum improvement and promotion of teacher growth. The emphasis is being placed increasingly on participation in planning and

carrying out such programs by all the people who are affected by them. It is significant that the recent publications of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development [3] stress that real changes in the experiences afforded children in schools are most likely to be made when teachers share with principals and supervisors and others in making the decisions as to which changes are to be made. What this means for teacher growth in the field of mental health is that the planning needs to be done co-operatively by the various members of the school staff, including certainly the teachers, the principals, and the supervisors as well as the superintendent.

Some elements in any truly comprehensive plan are suggested.

1. *Provide atmosphere in the school system conducive to good mental health in teachers.* One aspect of the school setting which has received great attention for many years is salary. Great strides have been made in this regard generally throughout the country. The figures show that the average salary for teachers went up from $1,408 in 1938-39 to $3,530 in 1952-53. The increases, however, have barely kept up with the rising cost of living, and in consequence teachers have not really gained much in terms of purchasing power of their wages. The shortage of teachers nationally has tended to force salaries up; many communities have achieved salary levels which would have been thought impossible twenty years ago. Nevertheless, the general feeling among teachers is that they are not adequately paid for their services.

There has been substantial improvement in one aspect of the salary question. That is the more general acceptance of the principle of the single salary schedule, in which teachers are on the same salary schedule for equivalent training and experience regardless of whether they teach in elementary, junior high, or senior high schools. The effect of this has been to have most teachers feel better about their work because the caste system of different pay for different grades taught is gone. But it should be noted that not all high-school teachers are happy about the change.

"Fringe" benefits, likewise, have increased greatly. Retirement

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[3] *Creating a Good Environment for Learning.* 1954 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington: National Education Association, 1954.

provisions are general; sick leave has become more generous and is usually cumulative; sabbatical leave and exchange-teaching are beginning to be encouraged.

Another aspect of the school atmosphere important in terms of teachers' mental health is working conditions. Great progress is observable since the period when teachers were expected to adhere to personal standards different from those expected of other professional people in the community. Fortunately, in most communities throughout the nation teachers are as free as other workers to dance or not as they please, to smoke or not, to teach a Sunday School class or not. In most school systems, women teachers may marry and keep their jobs. Again, in most school systems they are free to join or not to join the organizations of their choice—barring only subversive organizations. Physical surroundings affect teachers; classrooms that are clean, well ventilated, well lighted, and attractively decorated promote morale. Working conditions for teachers are definitely better than they were two or three decades ago. In individual communities, however, there may still be much to be done along this line to make the teaching situation one which results in having teachers feel good about their jobs.

An important element in the atmosphere is the degree to which school personnel feel that they have the right to share in decisions which affect them. In this area also, significant progress has been made. In most school systems teachers may express their views and may have some influence in the decisions as to the schools in which they are to teach, the grades or classes which they teach, the extracurricular assignments they have, the selection of the curriculum for their pupils, etc. Where they are consulted on such matters and where they share in the decisions—even though they may not have predominant influence—they feel better about their positions and their relations to the school system.

What has been said about teachers holds for other categories of school personnel. Principals, too, want to have some say about the schools to which they are assigned, the types of local curricular adjustments to be made, and the relations with parents and parent organizations. Supervisors, whether known by that name or as curriculum consultants or some other title, likewise want to have a share in helping to make the decisions in which they are involved.

It is particularly important that teachers have the right to take part in the development and adaptation of the curriculum, in the selection of textbooks and other instructional aids, and in general in all the major decisions concerning instruction and their personal relations to pupils. The trend is clearly toward what is called democratic participation in decision-making, but always within some limits. After all, the school system is an agency of the state and of the people of the state to carry on the function of education. In the last analysis, the decisions are made by the people through their elected representatives on boards of education and their chief executives. Experience shows, however, that widespread participation yields better total results and certainly maintains better morale.

2. *Help teachers meet their own basic emotional needs.* Educational literature in recent years has included much discussion of the emotional aspects of education and the emotional needs of children that require satisfaction if those children are to be well adjusted, happy persons. Thus, for example, *Educating for American Citizenship* [4] includes a chapter entitled "Meeting Basic Emotional Needs." This chapter shows some of the ways in which teachers can help children become well-adjusted persons and good citizens by helping them meet their greatest needs. Children want to belong, to be accepted in their families and their school groups. They feel the need for achievement and for the experience of success. They have need for love and affection, for emotional response from others, for warmth in their human relations. They need to be free from intense feelings of guilt.

Teachers, too, have these same basic emotional needs. All people do. Consider the teacher newly assigned to a school. How necessary it is for him to feel very soon that he is welcome there, that his colleagues accept him as a fellow-teacher. How especially important this is for the new teacher when he is new not only to his particular building but to teaching itself. His own feeling about himself and his self-respect depend in large degree on his acceptance by those with whom he works.

Every teacher needs recognition. It is all very well to say that

[4] *Educating for American Citizenship.* 1954 Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. Washington: National Education Association, 1954.

a job well done is its own reward. That is true, but only within limits. Every person feels the need at some time or another to be reassured that his work is approved by those with whom he associates, and particularly by those in positions of authority over him. Fortunate is the teacher whose principal has something good to say about his work and finds a number of occasions to give him a pat on the back. For the need for recognition is not one that can be satisfied once for all. One's sense of worth must be proved again and again to one's self by new achievements, new successes, new evidences of the recognition by other people of those successes.

The teacher who feels that he is accepted in his work group, who has frequent experience of success and recognition, who feels economically secure, who is reasonably free from fear, who can give and receive love and affection, who has genuine self-respect—such a teacher is able to help children in his care to meet their basic needs and to grow toward well-adjusted personality.

3. *Present to teachers the evidence as to the importance of mental health in education.* Mental health is a relatively new term in educational literature. A generation ago it was not discussed; indeed, the concept of functional mental health itself as distinct from the mere absence of mental illness is a development of the twentieth century. Teachers ought to know something of the magnitude of the problem of mental illness in this country and in the world. The teacher's knowledge of the fact that more than half the hospital beds in the United States are occupied by mental patients may give a new appreciation of the importance of mental health as compared with that of physical health.

The relation between mental health and delinquency needs to be known by teachers. Thus William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner said:

In the main, the immediate precipitating cause of delinquent behavior is in the emotional life of the delinquent: in his feeling about himself, his conditions and circumstances. Though he is usually unable to phrase his discontent, he is nevertheless an unsatisfied individual. The really satisfied youngster is not delinquent. Delinquency is a reactive, impulsive endeavor to find direct or indirect substitutive satisfactions for natural urges.

Most influential, as the background whence spring the feelings, attitudes, and behavior of the child and adolescent, is the life of the family,

the interrelationships among its members, and their ideals. Very often, indeed, the delinquent is a child who feels unwanted, unloved, discriminated against, unjustly condemned or punished, unrecognized as an individual having rights and needs. Though this background is generally well established before the child comes in contact with the church or school, yet the school may increase or diminish the satisfactions that tend to produce delinquency. . . .

Were all youth leaders, including teachers, to project themselves into the life situations of delinquent boys and girls, envisaging the numerous stresses that beset them, they would make a more sympathetic response to the needs of such children. Moreover, leader and teacher would thus become more keenly aware of the principle that it is conditions within the child and his environment, often open to remedy, that have made the child delinquent.[5]

A host of recent developments give evidence of the importance of mental health. The growing attention to family-life education shows that schools are attempting to do more to equip boys and girls to live better in their present families and to prepare for their own families—always from the point of view of better mental health. Child guidance clinics have sprung up throughout the country to help maladjusted children. Studies of the growth and development of children have a large place in the initial education of teachers. The books for parents, notably Spock's *Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care*,[6] are organized largely around the upbringing of children to preserve their mental health at the highest possible level.

A good presentation of mental-health problems and of the resources for service is given in an issue of the *Annals of the American Acadamy of Political and Social Science*.[7]

Teachers who are aware of the importance of mental health will have a better background for their teaching and a stronger motivation to deal with their pupils so as to promote mental health. Furthermore, such information will equip them better to teach the principles of mental hygiene to their own pupils.

[5] *Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools*, pp. 45-46. Forty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

[6] Benjamin Spock, *Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care*. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1946.

[7] "Mental Health in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXXXVI (March, 1953), 1-174.

4. *Provide means through which teachers may gain greater understanding of children generally and greater ability to learn to know particular children.* It is unlikely that a teacher who has been teaching fifteen or twenty years had, in his own initial teacher training, very much study of the growth and development of children or of ways of studying individual children. It is with such older teachers that there is special need for an in-service program to fill the gap. The work of Gesell, Olson, and others has led to a great accumulation of knowledge about the characteristics of children of various age groups. This knowledge needs to become a part of the educational equipment of teachers.

A distinction should be made between the understanding of the general characteristics of children of ages eight, nine, and ten, for example, and the ability to know a particular eight-year-old. While it is true that there are certain general characteristics of eight-year-olds, yet individual eight-year-olds differ greatly among themselves. If the teacher is to deal with Doris as a distinctive individual personality, it is necessary to understand her—to use varied means to become acquainted with her feelings, her situation, and her distinctive needs. The volume, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*,[8] by the staff of the Division of Child Development and Teacher personnel of the Commission on Teacher Education, is devoted entirely to aids in this direction. Another volume, *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*,[9] directs attention to what may be learned about children through observation of their relations in groups.

One such approach is observation. Hymes [10] shows how the bully, the show-off, and the overly shy child tell the observing teacher what they really feel and want by their conduct rather than by their words. Another approach is home visits and talks with the parents Through such contacts, the teacher may get new insight into the child and his needs. Drawing, writings, and other

[8] Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945.

[9] Ruth Cunningham and Others, *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

[10] James L. Hymes, Jr., *Teacher Listen: The Children Speak*. New York: New York Committee on Mental Health of the State Charities Aid Association, 1949.

creative products will often reveal to the sensitive teacher much of the inner feelings of the children who produce them. Still another approach is the use of the newer tests of personality, such as the "California Test of Personality," "The Wishing Well," the "SRA Youth Inventory," and the "Problem Check List." A child's condition as to health may affect his personality.[11]

The sociometric approach is one of the newer ones that can be very helpful in giving the teacher a better understanding of the child in his relation to other children in the group.[12, 13] The anecdotal record,[14] or behavior journal, may be used to keep track of specific items of observed behavior. A succession of such records about a particular child can add greatly to the teacher's understanding of that particular child.

All of this has been to say that any plan to help teachers become more effective promoters of mental health should include steps to help teachers get better understanding of children generally and some techniques through which they may become well acquainted with children individually.

5. *Make available to the teacher resources to help him with children who have more serious problems.* Even though the teacher himself may be happy and well adjusted, may appreciate the importance of mental health in education, and have a real understanding of his pupils, yet there will be some children whose problems are so severe that further help is required. There is growing recognition that it is the responsibility of the school system to aid in providing such help. Many school systems in cities now provide visiting teachers who have had some training in psychiatric social work and who have more time than the classroom teacher to work intensively with the children who have serious problems. There may also be a psychological clinic, with clinical psychologists and con-

[11] Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education, *Health Conditions Affecting the Personality of School Youth.* Chicago: American Medical Association; Washington: National Education Association, 1952.

[12] Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry and Group Relations.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1948.

[13] Horace Mann–Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, *How to Construct a Sociogram.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

[14] Commission on Teacher Education, *op. cit.,* pp. 21-41.

sultation service from a psychiatrist. There may be a child guidance clinic in the community. Some of these resources need to be available if the teacher is not to feel too frustrated when he comes upon a problem too great for him to handle.

The situation is very different in rural and in urban school systems. The teacher in an isolated one-room school usually has available no resources of the types mentioned. Fortunately, the movement toward consolidated school districts brings with it the opportunity for providing such special services even to the relatively isolated school unit.

It is not enough merely to have such resources available, however. Teachers may require help in learning to identify those of their pupils who are in greatest need of such specialized attention and treatment. They need to know about the resources and the steps to be taken to refer children with some assurance that they will be studied and their needs met. They may require guidance in their own follow-up with these same pupils.

6. *Set up a personal consultation service for use by teachers to help them with their own personal problems.* Teachers have problems of their own that affect their relations with their pupils and their effectiveness in helping those pupils grow into well-adjusted persons. The teacher whose own child has leukemia does not automatically forget that fact when he comes to school. The teacher who is having trouble with her husband because of inability to work out a satisfactory relationship with his mother in their home can scarcely do justice to her own work in school. The teacher who has just lost her mother after taking care of her for thirty years may have suffered an emotional deprivation that makes it hard for her to conduct herself in the best possible manner in relation to her children at this time. These are but a few examples of the kinds of difficulties faced by many teachers. What can the school system do to help teachers in such situations?

Many industrial plants, faced with the problem of lowered production by an employee because of personal problems, have set up special counseling services for their employees. The attempt has been made to organize these in such a way that employees will feel free to go to the counselors with their problems. In many cases it is difficult, if not impossible, for the employee to go to his foreman

because of fear that the foreman may talk too much to others, or because of doubt that he can really be of assistance. Qualified counselors, however, are trained to keep such communications confidential; usually they either can help or can guide the employee to some agency or individual who can.

Schools, however, have not generally adopted any such plan. Often it is felt that the principal or supervisor or personnel officer can serve as a counselor to the teacher who is in trouble. In many school systems the need is not recognized at all. In some places the need is recognized, but the school administration fears that any such counseling service would be considered an invasion of the teacher's privacy and would thus be unwelcome. Nevertheless, the fact remains that teachers do face difficult situations in their personal lives and those situations do need to be met if the teacher is to be at his best in his work with his pupils. In reality, the need is greater in education than in industry, for in education the teacher is working with human beings rather than with inanimate objects. The teacher who is worried about money or the health of his wife is not the only one who is affected; his pupils are inevitably influenced by his feelings even though they may not know the cause of those feelings. It seems, therefore, desirable to make some provision for helping teachers with their personal problems, either through a counseling service administered by the school system or by reference to appropriate agencies in the community, such as the Family Service Society.

Approaches to Teacher Growth

Many different approaches have been used and can be used in individual schools and school systems where the goal is to help every teacher achieve maximum emotional health himself and to make effective contacts with children, such as to promote their emotional adjustment. Probably the commonest approach, and potentially a very effective one, is the personal contact between the teacher and his principal or supervisor who listens to the teacher, perhaps observes him in action, and tries to help him in his teaching situation. Other approaches include the use of teachers' meetings, the reading and discussion of books and pamphlets on the subject, the provision of special institutes, the presentation and discussion of

mental-health films and plays, the use of teaching demonstrations, the provision of special consultants, and the conduct of special courses.

Personal Conference. The personal conference between the teacher and his supervisor or principal is used widely to help the teacher improve his instruction in reading, or chemistry, or arithmetic. It can be used, likewise, to help the teacher learn how to conduct himself with his children in such a manner as to promote their mental health. The effectiveness of such conferences depends upon the degree to which there is mutual respect between the two participants and the degree to which the supervisor or consultant has something to contribute to the teacher. One of the most helpful things the principal can do is just to *listen* to the teacher, and let the teacher relieve himself by talking to a sympathetic listener. Nonthreatening conversation [15] can be healing.

Teachers' Meetings. The teachers' meeting is the other most commonly used device for promoting teacher growth from any point of view. It has the advantage of making use of the joint experience and thinking of the entire group as they address themselves to the problem of how best to utilize the activities of the school in maintaining and improving the mental health of the children. The teachers' meeting may make good use of some of the other approaches to be described, such as films, plays, and appropriate printed materials. The faculty meeting is the place where teachers expect to have treated those matters considered to be of greatest importance by the school administration. It is, therefore, appropriate that education for mental health should be included in the agenda of such meetings.

Institutes. An effective way to give emphasis to education for mental health is to set up an institute or series of meetings for all the teachers in the school system or in a division, such as in the high schools. In some communities where the opening week is devoted to a teachers' institute, much of the attention may be given to mental health. In other communities, a series of meetings may be organized to deal particularly with the implications of mental health for schools. Such an institute may well include talks by

[15] "How We Help Each Other," *Religion and Health*, II (September, 1953), 38-40.

psychiatrists or other specialists, mental-health films, and opportunities for discussion.

The institutes held in the city of Detroit may be mentioned as an example. These were generally conducted in the pattern of three weekly sessions of two and a half hours each, held usually in the late afternoon or evening. Attendance was voluntary. Some institutes were set up for groups chosen on the basis of common professional interest, such as the elementary-school principals, sponsored by their organization, Elementary-School Principals of Detroit; the superintendents of the metropolitan area, sponsored by the Metropolitan Detroit Bureau of Co-operative School Studies; the school cafeteria managers; the special-education teachers; and the heads of departments of vocational education. In an institute thus organized it was possible for the psychiatrist and the discussion leaders to direct the presentation and discussion in terms of the specialized problems and interests of the particular group of educational workers for whom the institute was planned.

Other institutes were organized on a regional basis. Most of them were conducted for the teachers in the eight elementary-school districts into which Detroit is divided. Each district consists of about thirty elementary schools, with approximately six hundred teachers. This type of institute usually was sponsored by the principals, the supervising principal, and the district and individual school committees on democratic human relations. In most cases the sponsors made quite an occasion of the institutes. Tea and cookies were provided for a brief social period preceding each session, fostering good feeling and compensating somewhat for the fact that the institutes usually were added to the end of a teaching day.

The institutes constituted a successful means of bringing the subject of mental health to the attention of a great number of teachers. During a two-year period there were twenty-seven different institutes, with a total of 3,680 teachers, principals, and administrators involved. No formal attempt was made to appraise the reactions of those who attended these institutes. Informal comments of many participants, however, indicated that, in general, teachers felt they had received new help in conducting their own classes more nearly in accordance with the principles of good mental health.

Published Materials. Publications of various kinds have a large place in any school program to increase teacher concern with mental health and teacher competence in promoting it. Materials are available in wide variety. There are, for example, a number of volumes devoted to the general subject of mental health in education. Among these are two yearbooks of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development: *Mental Health in the Classroom* [16] and *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* [17] There are various books for teachers, such as those by Redl and Wattenberg [18] and by Fenton.[19] There is the report of the Commission on Teacher Education [20] mentioned previously. One of the major reports of the Detroit Citizenship Education Study [21] presents many suggestions as to ways in which good mental health may be developed in schools as a means to building good citizenship.

Pamphlets are more likely to be read by teachers than are books, except when teachers become intensely concerned about the problem. One particularly useful pamphlet [22] is written primarily to help teachers first to understand themselves better. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, now the National Association for Mental Health, has published many booklets. Of these, special note may be made of *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom.*[23] Another publication [24]

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[16] *Mental Health in the Classroom.* Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association, 1940.

[17] *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington: National Education Association, 1950.

[18] Fritz Redl and William W. Wattenberg, *Mental Hygiene in Teaching.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1951.

[19] Norman Fenton, *Mental Hygiene in School Practice.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951.

[20] *Helping Teachers Understand Children, op. cit.*

[21] Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship.* Citizenship Education Study. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.

[22] William C. Menninger, *Self-Understanding: A First Step to Understanding Children.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1951.

[23] *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom.* New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc., 1949.

[24] Commission on Educational Organizations, *Feelings Are Facts.* New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

for teachers stresses the point that children's feelings need to be con-
sidered just as much as other facts about them. The Shaftels [25] have
described role-playing as an approach for teachers who wish to help
children become more sensitive to the feelings of others in various
situations.

Schools systems which value mental-health outcomes are placing
in their professional libraries books and pamphlets of the types men-
tioned. Effort is made to acquaint teachers with the availability of
the materials. Individual schools are encouraged and helped to in-
clude mental-health publications in their school professional libraries.
Pamphlets of high value and low cost may be provided for indi-
vidual teachers. Teachers' meetings, on occasion, are planned around
discussions of these materials.

Films. Numerous films are available on various aspects of mental
health. They can be used in teachers' meetings and institutes to
give teachers a better understanding of factors in home and school
that bear on mental health. Some of the films [26] that appear to be
of greatest value for teacher groups are *Shyness, First Lessons, Feel-
ings of Depression, Feeling of Hostility, Feeling of Rejection, Emo-
tional Health, Children Growing Up with Other People, This is
Robert, Meeting Emotional Needs in Childhood, Angry Boy,* and
Passion for Life. Some of the newer films, such as *Palmour Street*
and *Roots of Happiness,* have been liked especially well because they
stress positive mental health rather than neuroses and psychoses.

Plays. A new approach to teachers in relation to education for
mental health is the use of some recently developed brief plays.
These one-act plays have been prepared through the co-operation
of the American Theatre Wing and the National Association for
Mental Health. Most of them have been written by Nora Stirling,
a playwright of the American Theatre Wing, with the aid of an
advisory committee of psychiatrists, educators, and others compe-
tent in the area of mental hygiene.

[25] George Shaftel and Fannie R. Shaftel, *Role-Playing the Problem Story:
An Approach to Human Relations in the Classroom.* New York: National
Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

[26] A major source of information about films relating to mental health in
education is the National Association for Mental Health, 1790 Broadway,
New York 19, New York.

The series [27] includes the following titles which deal with the handling of children: *Scattered Showers, Fresh Variable Winds, High-Pressure Area, And You Never Know*, and *The Case of the Missing Handshake*. Another play, *The Ins and Outs*, is focused on the problem of cliques in school. *The Room Upstairs* deals with the problems in a home with three generations—children, parents, and a grandparent. *New Fountains* [28] is about the treatment in home and school of an adolescent girl who is convalescing from polio. All these plays are relatively easy to present, for they require no scenery or elaborate costuming. They are short. Each is directed to some one aspect of mental health. Each is accompanied by an excellent discussion guide.

These plays are well written and exert a powerful influence on teachers and parents who see them. They are designed to be followed by full discussion, which usually is lively and active.

Special Consultants. Another procedure that has been found helpful is to furnish to a school faculty a specialist in mental health who is made available part time as a consultant to the staff. This specialist may be a psychiatrist, a clinical psychologist, a psychiatric social worker, or an expert in group dynamics. The important thing is that he be competent in the broad field of education for mental health.

The consultant may be used in a variety of ways. One school assigned the consultant the task of visiting about the school for the primary purpose of discovering sources of tension and friction. From time to time he would be asked to discuss his findings and their implications with the administration and the faculty.

In another school the teachers were told the consultant would visit their classes at their request and would then be glad to talk with each individual teacher about any questions he might have. Also the consultant met with any interested teachers after school one afternoon a week. The result of a semester on this plan was a great increase in security and self-respect on the part of teachers and a greater sensitiveness to their pupils.

[27] Available from the National Association for Mental Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

[28] Available from National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Inc., 120 Broadway, New York 5, New York.

Courses. Recognition of the importance of mental health has led many school systems to encourage teachers already in service to take courses in education for mental health in summer sessions or in university extension classes. In some cities a special course has been developed to meet the needs of mature teachers who desire additional understanding in this field. One such course is described as an illustration.

In an extensive project in the Detroit public schools,[29] heavy reliance was placed on a course developed especially for the purpose and given under the joint auspices of the University of Michigan and Wayne University. This course was conducted for a semester, with sixteen sessions of two and a half hours each. Each session included a film or recording on mental health, an hour's lecture by a psychiatrist, and an hour in a discussion group led by a psychologist, psychiatric social worker, or other person qualified in the fields of mental health and education. The films and recordings were chosen to present dramatically various aspects of mental health and the conditions that make for good or bad mental health. The lectures by the psychiatrists dealt with such topics as "The Prevalence of Mental Conflict," "How the Psychiatrist Views Problem Behavior," "The Influence of the Family Constellation," "The Effects of Immediate Preschool Experiences," "The Impact of School on the Child," "Preadolescents and Their Problems," "Development in Adolescence," "Which Children Need Special Help," "Resources for Special Help and How to Use Them," "Nervous Habits," "Aggression and Hostility," "Withdrawing Behavior," "Authority Relationships in the Lives of Children," "Group Atmosphere in the Classroom," and "The Role of the Teacher." During the discussion periods in small groups, the teachers talked over the ideas presented in the films and lectures and sought to apply them to their own teaching. Also they were able to bring up some of their own classroom problems and to secure the help of other teachers and of the discussion leader.

Over a period of five years, a total of twenty-eight hundred teachers took this course. An effort was made to secure an appraisal from these teachers by sending out an inquiry form about six months

[29] Paul T. Rankin and John M. Dorsey, "The Detroit School Mental-Health Project: A Five-Year Report," *Mental Hygiene,* XXXVII (April 1953), 228-48.

after each group had completed the course. Although there were forty items in the questionnaire, only one will be reported here. It is the question, "What do you think was the main change in you by taking the course?" Here are some representative answers:

I am more likely to accept each child as he is.

I felt more adequate in many situations which were previously difficult.

I became more tolerant of my pupils' and co-workers' ideas and behavior.

It sort of "smoothed out" some of my tensions.

I pay more attention to the quiet child.

I don't make so many snap judgments.

I cannot detect any major change.

I think I understand myself better.

I try to give more to the child who needs more because of his lack of parental guidance and understanding.

It is fair to say that the changes most frequently mentioned in the replies were these: more heedful self-observation, a feeling of greater understanding of children, greater patience with them, and greater desire to meet children's basic needs.

Summary

What schools do in promoting the mental health of their pupils during the next ten years will depend primarily on the teachers now in service. Many of these teachers had little or no contact with the field of mental health in their college training for teaching. In consequence, they will need to develop on the job their understandings and skills in this field if they are to be most effective in helping their pupils to be mentally healthy.

The teacher must do his own growing, in mental health as in any other field. All that his colleagues or principal or supervisor can do to help is to stimulate, aid, and support him in his own growth process.

The goal of this process of self-growth is the kind of teacher whose total influence on his pupils is to maintain and to improve their mental health and emotional adjustment.

A key factor in promoting the growth of a teacher in mental health education is to make sure that he feels he is being treated decently and humanely by those with whom he works. Another

important factor is leaders who, themselves, exemplify mental health and who give mental health a high priority in their educational planning.

Teacher growth in power to influence pupil mental health positively may be fostered in several ways. These include general provisions that promote teacher morale, aid to teachers in meeting their own basic emotional needs, study of child growth and development, resources to which extreme cases may be referred, and consultation services available to teachers themselves.

Many approaches may be used, such as teachers' meetings and institutes, books, pamphlets, films, plays, special consultants, and courses.

The purpose of the entire discussion has been to help teachers and school administrators grow in their ability to make the living conditions in the school and the classroom more conducive to the development of mental health in both the pupils and the staff members.

SECTION V

MENTAL HEALTH FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW

Implications of the Yearbook for the Improvement of Mental Health in Our Schools

THE YEARBOOK COMMITTEE

Mental hygiene and modern education are so closely interrelated that it is as futile to plan a mental-health program without recognition of the role that the school is to play as it would be to conceive of a program of modern education without consideration of its effects upon the student's mental health. In chapter i, Rivlin traces briefly the history of mental health in modern education and sets forth the basic point of view that generally prevails throughout the volume. However, a number of other positions and approaches are presented. In fact, the volume may be considered eclectic in nature.

It is essential that the teacher recognize the difference between his role and that of the psychiatrist, if he wishes to be most effective in assisting children to develop attitudes and habits that will enable them to become mature adults, that is, adults who are capable of working and playing with other people, willing to face the very real problems that confront them without handicapping themselves by brooding over imaginary difficulties.

The Role of the Teacher and of the Psychiatrist

The clinical psychologist and the psychiatrist often deal with only one child or with a small group in therapy, whereas the classroom teacher works with thirty or forty children at a time. The very fact that the teacher deals with the children in a large group makes the teaching process more complex because the actions and attitudes of each child are affected so markedly by the large-group situation. A class consists of more than merely an aggregation of individuals, and the learning experiences of the group will not be

satisfactory unless the teacher can identify the role of each child in the group.

In addition, the psychiatrist may take years to study a child and to achieve an understanding of his motivation, whereas the teacher must be prepared to work with a new group at the end of a semester, or, at most, usually a year. Perhaps teachers cannot hope to understand an individual child as deeply as a psychiatrist, yet the teacher does have the advantage of daily and continuous contacts with children.

The psychiatrist's attitude toward learning is often different from the teacher's because the psychologist is not primarily and traditionally concerned with academic attainment. Although the clinical psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the teacher are working toward the same goal of helping young people achieve wholesome emotional adjustment, each has a different function to perform. We gain little if the teacher employs procedures that are peculiarly appropriate for a clinical worker or if the psychiatrist or psychologist dictates classroom practices which the teacher is expected to follow. For this reason, the writers of this yearbook have consistently emphasized appropriate ways in which teachers, psychiatrists, and psychologists can co-operate to contribute to the welfare of each child.

The administrator, too, must co-operate to provide conditions for the optimum development of pupils. Granted that teachers and administrators have many avenues for working toward the improvement of mental health, their effectiveness is bound to be increased when they take fullest advantage of opportunities to profit from the knowledge and skills of others who are working in the behavior sciences and when they co-operate fully with others who are also concerned with the improvement in mental health. To be sure, co-operation is a reciprocal arrangement and cannot be assured merely by the efforts of school personnel alone. Even so, teachers and administrators must familiarize themselves with the achievements and the facilities of their colleagues in other fields who can help improve the emotional adjustment of the school population. In chapter ii, Ruth Strang has presented the opinions of leaders in various fields of research and study and has suggested the contributions

these studies are making toward the attainment of the objectives of the mental-health program.

Mental Health and the Learning Process

This concern for the students' mental health permeates educational thinking and is bound to influence the teacher's conception of what has traditionally been his major function, namely that of stimulating and guiding learning. How a student learns depends to no small extent upon his emotional health. In turn, it is fitting to recognize that attitude and motive are powerful determinants of learning. The recognition, too, that *all* behavior is motivated gives a deeper meaning to the term *motivation* which is no longer considered as a set of devices designed to trick a youngster into learning something the teacher is eager to have him learn. To be effective guides, teachers must try to gain a thorough understanding of each child. They will then interpret learning in terms of growth and development. Moreover, once teachers understand how children learn, they are in better position to understand why some children acquire behavior problems that interfere with wholesome emotional adjustment while others learn to adjust so well that they can make maximum use of their abilities and potentialities. In chapter iii, Carroll has reviewed pertinent literature and has focused attention upon *how* mental health affects learning and upon *what* can be done to foster mental health and to stimulate more effective instruction.

The Home and the School Co-operate To Foster Mental Health

The personality of an individual is to a large extent the product of the several environments in which he has lived. Since the foundations of the personality structure are laid during infancy and childhood, it is clear that the home, the school, and the community in which the individual is reared are extremely important. The newborn infant brings into his world inherited potentialities which, through the years, are inhibited, or warped, or developed by his interaction with his environment. If the home, the school, and the community do their work well, the likelihood of a successful and happy life is greatly enhanced.

The home gets the child first, a fact of tremendous importance.

All that the infant knows of life comes from these early relationships with the members of the family group and from the much less significant contacts which he has with his impersonal environment. Bonaro Overstreet explains in chapter iv: "*What life is experienced to be* in the home becomes, in large measure, for each individual, *what life is interpreted to be* in the wider human scene." If the home life is secure, if the developing child experiences warmth in his relationships with the members of his family, he learns to feel secure in later relationships and approaches them with confidence. If, on the other hand, marked insecurity is present within his family and he feels unwanted and unloved, then anxiety grows apace and the child learns to expect rejection and failure. Visualizing the continuing influence of childhood experiences, Mrs. Overstreet, in the chapter previously mentioned, speaks of three psychological axioms:

One is that no human being can be his best self if he is always trying to be someone else instead of himself. The second is that he cannot be his best self unless he enjoys a reasonable self-respect and sense of worth. The third is that—particularly in childhood, but in some measure throughout life—his estimate of himself reflects the treatment he receives from the key figures in his environment.

These axioms point the way to the nature of the contributions which should be made by the home and, later, although not so directly, by the school and by the community. The good home provides a permissive situation in which the child dares to be himself, one in which he feels free to reach out for new experiences. There his personality is respected, the self-respect in turn resulting in respect for others. There he learns to see himself as a worthy individual with a right to his share of success and happiness. He sees himself as others have seen him, and, with increasing maturity, he sees others to a considerable extent as he sees himself.

In our American culture the school is second only to the home in its effect upon personality development, including mental health. Most of what the child knows about people and about life up to the age of five or six has been learned from the members of his family. Then the school takes over, in part, sharing the responsibility with the home, and for several years exerts a vital influence upon him. The school which promotes sound mental health is gov-

erned by the same fundamental concepts that are found in the home which promotes sound mental health. In chapter v, Olson and Wattenberg have briefly described those concepts which are most significant. Although the terminology is different, they are basically the same as those given by Mrs. Overstreet in her discussion of the home. Olson and Wattenberg stress the importance of security in the classroom, of respect for the personality of the child, of the absence of threat. They stress also the importance of the child's being accepted as he is. Such acceptance, of course, involves an understanding of the facts of individual differences and a realization of the necessity of adjusting to them rather than trying to force the child into set patterns of behavior. But these authors make it clear that they are not arguing for unhampered individual expression. They say, "It is clear that children thrive in an atmosphere of freedom. However, they also need to have 'structure' given to the situations in which they live." Children need to learn how to get along with one another. They must learn self-control. They must learn increasingly how to differentiate. To assist them in this process, some restrictions—even occasional punishment—are necessary. However, these important learnings take place most effectively in an atmosphere of general acceptance, understanding, and relative permissiveness. In such an accepting situation, the child learns how to handle mild frustrations.

Important though the classroom is, it is after all but one part of the school system. The individual classroom teacher is affected positively or adversely by the attitudes and practices of the administrative officers, including the superintendent and the school board. It is essential that the mental-hygiene point of view be held by all. If it is, then the major objective, say Olson and Wattenberg, will be "improved living" for the children.

The Community Affects the Mental Health of Our School Personnel

The influence of the community is contemporary with the influence of the home and of the school. Although usually the community does not act as directly upon the child as does his family and his school, it is, nevertheless, an important causal factor in his development. The attitude of a community toward any one family

may add to the child's feelings of being accepted or may bring him to an early realization that he is rejected. Racial prejudice is one example of a community attitude that may seriously affect the child's concept of himself and of his place in society. Obviously the complex set of attitudes held by a community is reflected in the school. The school board is made up of representatives of the community, and this board in turn plays a major role in determining whether or not school policy will be hygienic or unhygienic for the pupils. As Ojemann says in chapter vi, "The community can help or hinder the school in its program of aiding children in making satisfying human adjustments. Its attitude toward the significance of the work of the teachers, the opportunities it presents for the teacher to develop satisfying personal adjustments, the extent to which it is willing to share data about children, the extent to which it helps the child order his environment so that the daily out-of-school activities may become constructive experiences for him, the kinds of relationship it demonstrates in its daily reactions toward the child, and the nature of the standard of values it teaches are all important factors in determining the outcomes of the mental-health program of the school."

It is important that parents, teachers, and community leaders achieve a better understanding of what constitutes a wholesome home, school, and community environment and that this understanding then be translated into action. Such joint action, based upon sound mental-hygiene principles, would result in a marked reduction in the frequency of neurotic and psychotic behavior and of many other forms of maladaptive juvenile and adult behavior, including delinquency and criminality. It would also—and this is even more essential to the welfare of our country, its people, and the way of life we believe in—promote courage, confidence, stability, and wisdom in all members of a generation on which the future depends.

Mental Health of Young Children

To teachers of nursery-school children, Dorothy Baruch says, in effect, you are very important people—an adjunct to the home in building mental health. To fulfil your high purpose, you need to know young children as they really are—their fear of hurt, pent-

up hostility, unfulfilled wishes, their need for alternating periods of energetic play and relaxation, their need for a sense of success and accomplishment through finished tasks, their need for "respect and concern for their troubled and troublesome feelings," and the persistence of infantile impulses during preschool years.

Understanding leads to a teacher-child relationship that is affectionate but not indulgent, recognizes and accepts as natural the child's troubled and negative feelings, and, although setting certain firm limits on his behavior, comforts him without making him dependent.

Out of such a relationship grows creative activities in the kindergarten and nursery school. Children draw and paint what they feel, not what the teacher thinks is "pretty." They work with clay, play with doll families, and engage in creative activities of many kinds which offer opportunities for interpretation of feelings. They act out feelings that are terrifying or troubling to them and, with the teacher's help, find "safe action-pathways." They learn to identify their feelings and the objects against which these feelings are directed and to find a safe channel through which their feelings can flow. Thus the activities and materials of the nursery school become opportunities for educating the emotions and for helping children achieve appropriate developmental tasks. To do this skilfully, teachers must be "attuned to children's emotions," must recognize and accept the troubled feelings and anxieties within herself. How these important aims are accomplished in the nursery school and kindergarten is concretely and most helpfully described in chapter vii by Dorothy Baruch.

Mental-Health Problems of Different Age Groups

MENTAL HEALTH IN THE PRIMARY GRADES

Teachers and parents of children in primary grades can contribute to the health of children in similar fundamental ways—through understanding leading to improvement of the child's environment, through personalizing instruction, and through guiding his everyday activities. In chapter viii, Helen Shacter gives information needed (a) for understanding the characteristics and problems of children six to nine years of age, in relation to mental health, and (b) for fostering mental health in the school.

Teachers should recognize change in these children, difference among children, and the trend toward independence. The growth of children of these ages is gradual and continuous but not uniform in rate. Many circumstances, such as an illness or injury, emotional relations in the home, and unhappy experiences in school may deflect a child's normal growth.

Some of the common characteristics of these children may be associated with mental-health problems. If their need for activity is denied, tension may mount. If they are expected to do abstract thinking beyond their ability and are unduly criticized or are subjected to persistent pressures, their feeling of self-esteem is beaten down, and refusal to co-operate, aggression toward other children, or solace in absorbing fantasies may result.

Some of the adjustments a child has to make in coming to school may markedly influence his feelings, attitudes, and behavior. He suddenly becomes much more "on his own." He must learn new social skills of interacting with his own age group—social skills which need a great deal of practice. He may experience many kinds of frustration—in learning school lessons, in seeking a mother substitute in the teacher, in making friends.

MENTAL HEALTH IN THE INTERMEDIATE GRADES

As in preschool years, the teacher may help a child understand and handle his anxieties and hostilities through play. Recognizing that many differences in activities between boys and girls are cultural, teachers may provide choice of a variety of activities. By gaining understanding of individual children—their present development, home atmosphere, special problems and needs—the teacher may avoid strain and friction caused by unsuitable activities. "Only careful study uncovers causal relationships."

Teachers and parents often find children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades difficult to understand. Frances Wilson, in chapter ix, lets the children speak for themselves. And this is what a large sampling of children in New York City schools say about their activities, interests, relationships: Homework is almost negligible; TV programs very popular. These city children do chores—going to the store, housekeeping duties, minding younger brothers and sisters. Very significant is their critical attitude toward themselves,

probably a reflection of adults' frequent criticism of them; the faults they recognize are those which adults decry. They feel that their parents are not satisfied with them and that they talk too much. One of their problems is their relationship with brothers and sisters.

When in disgrace with adults, children seek solace and encouragement from friends of their own age by whom they want to be accepted as equals. With these children they like to engage in activities that may be quite elaborately organized.

Reports from teachers in the same schools confirm the children's impression of adults' critical attitude toward them. Teachers recognize the voluntary physical separation of boys and girls of these ages but perhaps misinterpret the psychological meaning of the overt evidences of antagonism.

All this firsthand information from children, teachers, and case studies of children referred to guidance clinics or special schools suggest certain things that the classroom teachers can do: (a) Try "to understand their own feelings and cope with them." (b) Gain an understanding of their pupils through observation, through study of their compositions, their favorite activities and preferences, and by other methods. (c) "Provide supportive help to children who are having a difficult time adjusting." (d) Help children learn to handle their problems through group discussion, role-playing, and other group techniques. (e) Try to provide other experiences and material assistance children need.

Parents can best foster mental health in children of this age by maintaining a balanced point of view. They can gain help from "talking out" in workshops or in personal conferences some of their worries and problems with respect to bringing up their preadolescent children.

MENTAL HEALTH OF THE ADOLESCENT

Likewise, teachers at the high-school level need to know the mental-health problems of this age group and what are the best ways to deal with them. Lou LaBrant reviews the common adolescent problems of physical growth, conflicting standards, school subjects that seem unrelated to life, educational and vocational choices, the prospect of military service, and world fears.

Without an understanding adult in whom to confide, teen-agers

may develop anxieties concerning problems they bring with them from early childhood. In some cases, their maladjustment may become evident in highly abnormal or delinquent behavior.

The school's responsibility is to make a co-operative effort: to use films, plays, and books as a basis for discussion; to correct curriculum faults; to recognize symptoms of serious maladjustment and to know the resources for referral; to make provision for individual differences and creative expression; to be sure that every pupil in the school has someone who knows him well and can serve as his counselor; and to use the group as an instrument of adjustment and guidance.

Similar problems of adjustment confront older adolescents. In chapter xi, Thorpe takes a genetic approach to the problems of college students and shows the possible effect on their mental health of the various situations they have to meet—admission to college, obtaining suitable housing and financial assistance, reaching academic standards, gaining status in the group. There are, also, problems of modifying religious beliefs and conforming to college. Problems of later life—marriage and vocation—reach down into college years.

The faculty adviser is a most important but, at present, often ineffective aid in the adjustment of college students. Classroom and extraclass activities too often fail to realize their potentialities for personal adjustment. These basic contributions need to be supplemented by better orientation methods, counseling programs, courses in personal adjustment, mental-hygiene clinics, and psychiatric or clinical psychological and health services. Some of these practices are described by Shibler as they function in one city.

The Role of the Teacher as an Effective Mental-Health Worker

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOOD TEACHER

Throughout the yearbook, the importance of the teacher in affecting children's mental health has been stressed.

Part IV of the yearbook deals in greater detail with the teacher and the mental-health program. In chapter xiii, Witty first reviews a number of the more significant studies which have sought to identify the characteristics of effective teachers. He then summarizes four studies of good teachers, as judged by pupils who sub-

mitted compositions under the title "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most." The traits that stood out most in the analysis of thousands of letters follow:

1. Co-operative, democratic attitude
2. Kindliness and consideration for the individual
3. Patience
4. Wide interests
5. Pleasing personal appearance and manner
6. Fairness and impartiality
7. Sense of humor
8. Good disposition and consistent behavior
9. Interest in pupil's problems
10. Flexibility
11. Use of recognition and praise
12. Unusual proficiency in teaching a particular subject

These are the characteristics that many children have listed when they tried to describe the teacher who helped them most. It is assumed that a teacher with these characteristics will have a salutary effect on the mental health of her pupils.

The implications for schools are obvious but too infrequently applied. First, the selection of teachers should be conducted so as to obtain teachers who have these characteristics to a marked degree. Second, the process of initial teacher education should be designed so as to keep these qualities before students as goals and to help them develop these qualities. Third, a teacher already in service may find this list helpful as a guide for his own self-evaluation and redevelopment. Likewise, the list may be useful to the teacher's principal and supervisor as they try to help the teacher grow in service. And the thoughtful parent may want to examine this list as well as the children's reactions as revealed by their letters, for the letters point clearly to the desirability of similar traits in parents who encourage the development of mental health in their children. As Witty states:

Children who fail in school are often tragic examples of the effects of unsympathetic, indifferent, or overexacting parents or of unwholesome home conditions. They are products, too, of unsympathetic attitudes, undesirable classroom atmosphere, and inefficient instruction.

Teachers and parents are beginning to appreciate their mutual responsibilities and the need for co-operative endeavor. They realize that

if a child is given affection and encouragement in completing worthwhile tasks at home under stable, reassuring conditions, he is usually well prepared for successful school life. And he needs to have a classroom teacher who continues to offer him security and sympathetic guidance.

IMPROVING THE MENTAL HEALTH OF TEACHERS

McSwain and Haskew, in chapter xiv, describe what the teacher-training institution may do to develop teachers who are socially and emotionally mature, who, themselves, have good mental health, and whose influence on their pupils is favorable to mental health. They emphasize the importance of experience in human interacting between students and faculty where there is a mutually respectful relationship. They urge equipping prospective teachers with a genuine understanding of the rapidly changing world in which they live. They point to the significance of appreciation of the home and community factors that affect mental health. They suggest the need to fortify prospective teachers against the "extreme" criticism of education found in many quarters. And they outline the intellectual competencies required by teachers if they are to be effective promoters of mental health.

Teacher education has a dual role: (*a*) To accustom the prospective teacher to live and think in those ways that are mentally healthful and health-strengthening. (*b*) To equip the prospective teacher with the inclination and the skill to minister to the mental-health needs of his pupils. The teacher in training needs to understand child growth and development, to learn how to use classroom procedures that promote mental health, and to know how to utilize the specialized clinical and psychological services.

FOSTERING TEACHER GROWTH

In chapter xv, Rankin deals particularly with what may be done to help the teacher already in service. The majority of teachers now teaching had but little training for mental health in their own college days. They need to realize the importance of outcomes in mental health and to learn how to conduct themselves and to establish relations with their pupils to insure good mental health.

The teacher who is to help children meet their basic needs and achieve mental health must have his own needs met. Consequently,

stress is placed on the treatment of the teacher by his colleagues, his supervisors, and, indeed, everyone who comes in contact with him. Rankin lists a number of ways of fostering teacher growth and a variety of approaches that have proved helpful.

The superintendent of a school system and the principal of an individual school might well include in their educational plans specific provision for ways to help their teachers become more effective in helping pupils achieve a high level of mental health and emotional stability. It is not enough to have supervisory programs to improve reading or arithmetic or to increase the holding power of the school. Mental health is sufficiently important to warrant careful planning to insure its development among all teachers. In fact, we may find that the cultivation of mental health in teachers is the most important function of teacher education. For the mental health of the teacher, we have shown, affects vitally the emotional well-being of pupils, and this in turn influences the nature and amount of learning.

Concluding Statement

We have tried, throughout this volume, to present materials that will stimulate teachers, supervisors, administrators, and others interested in the improvement of instruction to initiate activity in behalf of mental health. We believe that such a widespread movement will lead not only to more efficient teaching and learning in our schools but may assist also in the emergence of a generation of more secure and stable adults who will be able to cope more successfully than the present generation has with problems of human relationships—at home and throughout the world.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF
THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

(As adopted May, 1944, and amended June, 1945, and February, 1949)

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The National Society for the Study of Education," an Illinois corporation not for profit.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSES

Its purposes are to carry on the investigation of educational problems, to publish the results of same, and to promote their discussion.

The corporation also has such powers as are now, or may hereafter be, granted by the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of the State of Illinois.

ARTICLE III

OFFICES

The corporation shall have and continuously maintain in this state a registered office and a registered agent whose office is identical with such registered office, and may have other offices within or without the State of Illinois as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. *Classes.* There shall be two classes of members—active and honorary. The qualifications and rights of the members of such classes shall be as follows:

(*a*) Any person who is desirous of promoting the purposes of this corporation is eligible to active membership and shall become such on payment of dues as prescribed.

(*b*) Active members shall be entitled to vote, to participate in discussion, and, subject to the conditions set forth in Article V, to hold office.

(*c*) Honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of active members, with the exception of voting and holding office, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues. A person may be elected to honorary membership by vote of the active members of the corporation on nomination by the Board of Directors.

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(d). Any active member of the Society may, at any time after reaching the age of sixty, become a life member on payment of the aggregate amount of the regular annual dues for the period of life expectancy, as determined by standard actuarial tables, such membership to entitle the member to receive all yearbooks and to enjoy all other privileges of active membership in the Society for the lifetime of the member.

Section 2. *Termination of Membership.*

(a) The Board of Directors by affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board may suspend or expel a member for cause after appropriate hearing.

(b) Termination of membership for nonpayment of dues shall become effective as provided in Article XIV.

Section 3. *Reinstatement.* The Board of Directors may by the affirmation vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board reinstate a former member whose membership was previously terminated for cause other than nonpayment of dues.

Section 4. *Transfer of Membership.* Membership in this corporation is not transferable or assignable.

Article V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. *General Powers.* The business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed by its Board of Directors. It shall appoint the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Secretary-Treasurer, and Members of the Council. It may appoint a member to fill any vacancy on the Board until such vacancy shall have been filled by election as provided in Section 3 of this Article.

Section 2. *Number, Tenure, and Qualifications.* The Board of Directors shall consist of seven members, namely, six to be elected by the members of the corporation, and the Secretary-Treasurer to be the seventh member. Only active members who have contributed to the Yearbook shall be eligible for election to serve as directors. A member who has been elected for a full term of three years as director and has not attended at least two-thirds of the meetings duly called and held during that term shall not be eligible for election again before the fifth annual election after the expiration of the term for which he was first elected. No member who has been elected for two full terms as director in immediate succession shall be elected a director for a term next succeeding. This provision shall not apply to the Secretary-Treasurer who is appointed by the Board of Directors. Each director shall hold office for the term for which he is elected or appointed and until his successor shall have been selected and qualified. Directors need not be residents of Illinois.

Section 3. *Election.*

(a) The directors named in the Articles of Incorporation shall hold office until their successors shall have been duly selected and shall have qualified.

Thereafter, two directors shall be elected annually to serve three years, beginning March first after their election. If, at the time of any annual election, a vacancy exists in the Board of Directors, a director shall be elected at such election to fill such vacancy.

(*b*) Elections of directors shall be held by ballots sent by United States mail as follows: A nominating ballot together with a list of members eligible to be directors shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members of the corporation in October. From such list, the active members shall nominate on such ballot one eligible member for each of the two regular terms and for any vacancy to be filled and return such ballots to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare an election ballot and place thereon in alphabetical order the names of persons equal to three times the number of offices to be filled, these persons to be those who received the highest number of votes on the nominating ballot, provided, however, that not more than one person connected with a given institution or agency shall be named on such final ballot, the person so named to be the one receiving the highest vote on the nominating ballot. Such election ballot shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members in November next succeeding. The active members shall vote thereon for one member for each such office. Election ballots must be in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after the said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The ballots shall be counted by the Secretary-Treasurer, or by an election committee, if any, appointed by the Board. The two members receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected for the regular term and the member or members receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected for any vacancy or vacancies to be filled.

Section 4. *Regular Meetings.* A regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held, without other notice than this by-law, at the same place and as nearly as possible on the same date as the annual meeting of the corporation. The Board of Directors may provide the time and place, either within or without the State of Illinois, for the holding of additional regular meetings of the Board.

Section 5. *Special Meetings.* Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by or at the request of the Chairman or a majority of the directors. Such special meetings shall be held at the office of the corporation unless a majority of the directors agree upon a different place for such meetings.

Section 6. *Notice.* Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least fifteen days previously thereto by written notice delivered personally or mailed to each director at his business address, or by telegram. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage thereon prepaid. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed

to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. Any director may waive notice of any meeting. The attendance of a director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting, except where a director attends a meeting for the express purpose of objecting to the transaction of any business because the meeting is not lawfully called or convened. Neither the business to be transacted at, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board need be specified in the notice or waiver of notice of such meeting.

Section 7. *Quorum.* A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board, provided, that if less than a majority of the directors are present at said meeting, a majority of the directors present may adjourn the meeting from time to time without further notice.

Section 8. *Manner of Acting.* The act of the majority of the directors present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the act of the Board of Directors, except where otherwise provided by law or by these by-laws.

Article VI

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. *Appointment.* The Council shall consist of the Board of Directors, the Chairmen of the corporation's Yearbook and Research Committees, and such other active members of the corporation as the Board of Directors may appoint.

Section 2. *Duties.* The duties of the Council shall be to further the objects of the corporation by assisting the Board of Directors in planning and carrying forward the educational undertakings of the corporation.

Article VII

OFFICERS

Section 1. *Officers.* The officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board of Directors, a Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, and a Secretary-Treasurer. The Board of Directors, by resolution, may create additional offices. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except the offices of Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. *Election and Term of Office.* The officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the annual regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided, however, that the Secretary-Treasurer may be elected for a term longer than one year. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as conveniently may be. Vacancies may be filled or new offices created and filled at any meeting of the Board of Directors. Each officer shall hold office until

his successor shall have been duly elected and shall have qualified or until his death or until he shall resign or shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 3. *Removal.* Any officer or agent elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed by the Board of Directors whenever in its judgment the best interests of the corporation would be served thereby, but such removal shall be without prejudice to the contract rights, if any, of the person so removed.

Section 4. *Chairman of the Board of Directors.* The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be the principal officer of the corporation. He shall preside at all meetings of the members of the Board of Directors, shall perform all duties incident to the office of Chairman of the Board of Directors and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors from time to time.

Section 5. *Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors.* In the absence of the Chairman of the Board of Directors or in the event of his inability or refusal to act, the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform the duties of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, and when so acting, shall have all the powers of and be subject to all the restrictions upon the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Any Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. *Secretary-Treasurer.* The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the managing executive officer of the corporation. He shall: (*a*) keep the minutes of the meetings of the members and of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; (*b*) see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws or as required by law; (*c*) be custodian of the corporate records and of the seal of the corporation and see that the seal of the corporation is affixed to all documents, the execution of which on behalf of the corporation under its seal is duly authorized in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws; (*d*) keep a register of the postoffice address of each member as furnished to the secretary-treasurer by such member; (*e*) in general perform all duties incident to the office of secretary and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. He shall also: (1) have charge and custody of and be responsible for all funds and securities of the corporation; receive and give receipts for moneys due and payable to the corporation from any source whatsoever, and deposit all such moneys in the name of the corporation in such banks, trust companies or other depositories as shall be selected in accordance with the provisions of Article XI of these by-laws; (2) in general perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasurer and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of his

duties in such sum and with such surety or sureties as the Board of Directors shall determine, said bond to be placed in the custody of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

COMMITTEES

The Board of Directors, by appropriate resolution duly passed, may create and appoint such committees for such purposes and periods of time as it may deem advisable.

ARTICLE IX

PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The corporation shall publish *The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* such supplements thereto, and such other materials as the Board of Directors may provide for.

Section 2. *Names of Members.* The names of the active and honorary members shall be printed in the Yearbook.

ARTICLE X

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The corporation shall hold its annual meetings at the time and place of the Annual Meeting of the American Association of School Administrators of the National Education Association. Other meetings may be held when authorized by the corporation or by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XI

CONTRACTS, CHECKS, DEPOSITS, AND GIFTS

Section 1. *Contracts.* The Board of Directors may authorize any officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation, in addition to the officers so authorized by these by-laws to enter into any contract or execute and deliver any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the corporation and such authority may be general or confined to specific instances.

Section 2. *Checks, drafts, etc.* All checks, drafts, or other orders for the payment of money, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the corporation, shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation and in such manner as shall from time to time be determined by resolution of the Board of Directors. In the absence of such determination of the Board of Directors, such instruments shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. *Deposits.* All funds of the corporation shall be deposited from time to time to the credit of the corporation in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as the Board of Directors may select.

Section 4. *Gifts*. The Board of Directors may accept on behalf of the corporation any contribution, gift, bequest, or device for the general purposes or for any special purpose of the corporation.

ARTICLE XII

BOOKS AND RECORDS

The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its members, Board of Directors, and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and shall keep at the registered or principal office a record giving the names and addresses of the members entitled to vote. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member or his agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XIII

FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the corporation shall begin on the first day of July in each year and end on the last day of June of the following year.

ARTICLE XIV

DUES

Section 1. *Annual Dues*. The annual dues for active members of the Society shall be determined by vote of the Board of Directors at a regular meeting duly called and held.

Section 2. *Election Fee*. An election fee of $1.00 shall be paid in advance by each applicant for active membership.

Section 3. *Payment of Dues*. Dues for each calendar year shall be payable in advance on or before the first day of January of that year. Notice of dues for the ensuing year shall be mailed to members at the time set for mailing the primary ballots.

Section 4. *Default and Termination of Membership*. Annual membership shall terminate automatically for those members whose dues remain unpaid after the first day of January of each year. Members so in default will be reinstated on payment of the annual dues plus a reinstatement fee of fifty cents.

ARTICLE XV

SEAL

The Board of Directors shall provide a corporate seal which shall be in the form of a circle and shall have inscribed thereon the name of the corporation and the words "Corporate Seal, Illinois."

Article XVI

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice whatever is required to be given under the provision of the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of Illinois or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the by-laws of the corporation, a waiver thereof in writing signed by the person or persons entitled to such notice, whether before or after the time stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

Article XVII

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. *Amendments by Directors.* The constitution and by-laws may be altered or amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors duly called and held, provided that an affirmative vote of at least five directors shall be required for such action.

Section 2. *Amendments by Members.* By petition of twenty-five or more active members duly filed with the Secretary-Treasurer, a proposal to amend the constitution and by-laws shall be submitted to all active members by United States mail together with ballots on which the members shall vote for or against the proposal. Such ballots shall be returned by United States mail to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after date of mailing of the proposal and ballots by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer or a committee appointed by the Board of Directors for that purpose shall count the ballots and advise the members of the result. A vote in favor of such proposal by two-thirds of the members voting thereon shall be required for adoption of such amendment.

MINUTES OF THE ATLANTIC CITY MEETING
OF THE SOCIETY
FEBRUARY 13 and 15, 1954

The first session of the Society's meeting was held in the American Room of the Traymore Hotel at 8:00 P.M., Saturday, February 13. This session was devoted to the discussion of the Fifty-third Yearbook, Part I, *Citizen Cooperation for Better Public Schools*, which was prepared by a committee of the Society under the chairmanship of Professor Edgar L. Morphet of the University of California.

The meeting was called to order by the presiding officer, Professor W. A. Brownell, Chairman of the Society's Board of Directors. The chairman expressed the Society's appreciation of the interest of the four national organizations which were sponsors of this session and were represented by participants in the following program.

I. Introducing the Yearbook
   Edgar L. Morphet, Professor of Education, University of California, Berkeley, California; Chairman of the Yearbook Committee

II. Evaluation of the Yearbook by Representatives of National Organizations Working for Better Public Schools
   1. Kirby P. Walker, Superintendent of Schools, Jackson, Mississippi; Representing the American Association of School Administrators
   2. Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, Providence, Rhode Island; President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers
   3. O. H. Roberts, Jr., Evansville, Indiana; Director, National School Boards Association
   Note: Leo Perlis, Secretary, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, was unable to participate in the program because of illness.

III. Informal Discussion
   Members of the Yearbook Committee and Members of the Sponsoring Organizations

The second session of the 1954 meeting of the Society was held in Room 16 of the Atlantic City Auditorium at 2:30 P.M., Monday, February 15. The session was devoted to the discussion of Part II of the Fifty-third Yearbook, *Mass Media and Education*. This volume was prepared by a committee of which Professor Edgar Dale was the chairman. Sponsors of this session were the National Council for the Social Studies and the Department of Audio-visual Instruction of the National Education Association, both of which are

concerned with the implications for education of the developing processes of mass communication. Mr. Brownell, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Society, presided over the meeting. The following program was presented.

I. Introducing the Yearbook
   Edgar Dale, Professor of Education, Ohio State University; Chairman of the Yearbook Committee

II. Mass Media and the Social Studies
   Julian C. Aldrich, Professor of Education, New York University

III. The Yearbook from the Point of View of the School Administrator
   William B. Levenson, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland, Ohio

IV. The Yearbook and the Research Specialist in Communications
   Charles F. Hoban, Deputy Chief, Social Sciences Division, Project Big Ben, University of Pennsylvania

V. Informal Discussion
   Members of the Yearbook Committee and Members of the Sponsoring Organizations

SYNOPSIS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1954

I. MEETING OF FEBRUARY 14 AT ATLANTIC CITY

The Board of Directors met at the Traymore Hotel, the following members being present: Brownell (*Chairman*), Dale, Melby, Olson, Strang, Witty, and Henry (*Secretary*).

1. The Secretary reported that, as a result of the November election of members of the Board of Directors, Mr. Dale was re-elected for a second term of three years and Professor Stephen M. Corey of Columbia University was elected for a like term, the new term in each case being the three-year period beginning March 1, 1954.

2. Officers of the Board of Directors for the year ending February 28, 1955, were chosen as follows: Mr. Witty, Chairman; Mr. Olson, Vice-chairman; and Mr. Henry, Secretary.

3. Messrs. Dale and Witty reported the results of their consultations with Mr. Clift, Executive Secretary of the American Library Association, and Dr. Asheim, Dean of the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago, relative to the possible development of plans for a yearbook on the subject of adult reading. The Board then approved the suggestion of the Secretary that Mr. Dale serve temporarily as chairman of the committee for this yearbook, it being understood that one of the members of the yearbook committee would be asked to serve as permanent chairman as soon as the committee could be completely organized. The Board appropriated the necessary funds for the expenses of this committee.

4. Mr. Brownell presented the outline for the yearbook on the junior college, as developed by the yearbook committee at its recent meeting in Chicago. Members of the Board offered several suggestions regarding the organization and content indicated by the outline. The outline was approved and an appropriation authorized for the expenses of further meetings of the committee. It was agreed that the volumes dealing with the two subjects just mentioned, namely, adult reading and the junior college, should be listed as Parts I and II of the Yearbook for 1956.

5. As a result of previous inquiry by the Secretary, Professor Cronbach of the University of Illinois prepared a memorandum on the values and problems that might be involved in a yearbook on textbook materials. Following the discussion of Professor Cronbach's statement regarding this problem, the Board requested him to invite several consultants to a meeting for an exchange of views on the desirability of a publication on the subject. An appropriation was authorized for meeting the expenses of this conference.

6. Reports on the status of the two volumes in preparation for publication in 1955 were submitted to the Board by the chairmen of the committees

for Parts I and II of the Fifty-fourth Yearbook. Professor Brubacher reported that the work of the committee on the philosophy of education was virtually completed and the manuscript would be forwarded to the Secretary's office by the first of April. Mr. Witty explained the procedures being followed by the committee on mental health, indicating that all contributors to this yearbook expected to submit their manuscripts within the time limits prescribed by the committee.

7. Miss Strang suggested that consideration be given to the problem of in-service education of teachers as a possible yearbook topic. Following the discussion of this suggestion, the Board instructed the Secretary to confer with Mr. Corey with the view of ascertaining his interest in preparing a proposal for a yearbook on this subject.

II. Meeting of May 22-23 at Chicago

The Board of Directors met at the Congress Hotel, the following members being present: Brownell, Corey, Dale, Melby, Olsen, Witty (Chairman), and Henry (Secretary).

1. The Secretary presented the announcement of the American Association of School Administrators regarding the plans for regional meetings in three selected cities instead of the convention at Atlantic City in 1955. There was some discussion of possible modifications of the types of program usually prepared for the presentation of the Society's yearbooks at the meetings of the AASA when the Association's plan provides for regional meetings. The Board concluded that it would be desirable to experiment with a program designed to present both volumes of the Yearbook for 1955 at the Saturday night session in each of the three cities. Accordingly, the Secretary was instructed to prepare programs in consultation with the chairmen of the yearbook committees, allowing an hour each for consideration of the two volumes, including reasonable opportunity for audience participation in the discussion.

2. Professor B. Lamar Johnson, Chairman of the Committee on the Junior College, was present at this meeting of the Board and explained the plans being developed by the committee in the preparation of the yearbook on this subject. It was agreed that the committee should hold its next meeting in Chicago at the same time selected for the meeting of the Board of Directors in October in order that the plans of the yearbook committee could again be reviewed by the Board in light of the status of the committee's work by that time.

3. Mr. Dale reported on the work being done by the committee on adult reading. The committee expected to hold its next meeting during the summer quarter to complete the revision of the general outline and to select contributors for the several chapters of the yearbook.

4. The Secretary presented letters received from Professor Ralph C. Preston of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Stanley Dimond of

the University of Michigan, each replying to a request for a statement of his opinion regarding the possible need for a yearbook dealing with the social studies program at the elementary-school level. After considering these recommendations, the Board requested Mr. Melby and Mr. Corey to invite several specialists in the field of the social studies to attend a conference in New York City in the summer or early autumn, the purpose of the conference being to consider the plan of a prospective yearbook in the field of the social studies.

5. Mr. Corey presented the outline of a possible yearbook on the subject of in-service teacher education. The Board approved this outline and selected the committee for such a yearbook, requesting Mr. Corey to serve as chairman. Funds for the expenses of the committee were authorized. It was agreed that the yearbook on in-service education should be prepared for publication in 1957.

III. Meeting of October 22 at Chicago

The Board of Directors met at the Congress Hotel, the following members being present: Brownell, Corey, Dale, Olson, Witty (*Chairman*) and Henry (*Secretary*).

1. The Secretary reported that satisfactory progress was being made in the manufacture of the two volumes comprising the yearbook for 1955. The question of an appropriate title for the yearbook in the field of philosophy was considered from the point of view of the unique plan under which the volume was written. The Board concluded that the most appropriate title would be *Modern Philosophies and Education*. The Secretary was instructed to report the sentiment of the Board to the chairman of the yearbook committee.

2. Mr. Dale reported the proceedings of the recent meeting of the committee on adult reading. He announced that Mr. David H. Clift, Executive Secretary of the American Library Association, had agreed to serve as permanent chairman of the committee and described the committee's plans for completing its work in accordance with the requirements of the Board's decision to publish this volume in 1956.

3. Mr. Brownell reviewed the work of the committee on the junior college, explaining that this committee would be in session the following day in the Congress Hotel. It was understood that the committee's plans for completion of its work had been definitely developed with the view of having the manuscript ready for publication in 1956.

4. Mr. Corey reported progress being made in organizing plans for the yearbook on in-service education and in selecting associated contributors for chapters approved by the committee.

5. The Board reviewed the report by Mr. Cronbach on the proceedings of the conference he had called at the request of the Board for the purpose of securing professional opinion on the possible desirability of a yearbook dealing with textbook materials. In view of the comments reported by Mr. Cronbach, it was the consensus of the Board that further consideration of this topic should be postponed indefinitely.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY

1953-54

Receipts and Disbursements

Receipts:

Membership dues	$12,772.28
Sale of yearbooks	30,680.27
Interest and dividends on securities	549.62
Miscellaneous	57.50
	$44,059.67

Disbursements:

Yearbooks:	
Manufacturing	$10,008.00
Reprinting	15,807.77
Preparation	2,413.34
Meetings of Society and Board of Directors	2,203.87
Secretary's Office:	
Editorial, secretarial, and clerical service	10,927.57
Supplies	867.38
Telephone and telegraph	50.20
Miscellaneous	250.20
	$42,528.33

Cash in bank at beginning of year	$ 248.22
Excess of receipts over disbursements	1,531.34
Cash in bank at end of year	$ 1,779.56

STATEMENT OF CASH AND SECURITIES

As of June 30, 1954

Cash:

University National Bank, Chicago, Illinois—
Checking account ....$ 1,779.56

Securities:

Bonds   Cost

$17,700 U.S. of America Savings Bonds, Series "G", 2½%,
due 12 years from issue date........................ 17,700.00

$1,000 dated September 1, 1943
$1,500 dated February 1, 1944
$2,700 dated May 1, 1944
$2,000 dated February 1, 1945
$1,000 dated April 1, 1945
$4,500 dated December 1, 1945
$5,000 dated February 1, 1949

Stock:

27 shares First National Bank of Boston, Capital Stock...... 1,035.75

Total securities $18,735.75

Total assets $20,515.31

NELSON B. HENRY, *Treasurer*

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

(This list includes all persons enrolled November 20, 1954, whether for 1954 or 1955. Asterisk (*) indicates Life Members of the Society.)

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Aarestad, Amanda B., Elem. Educ., State Teachers College, Winona, Minn.
Aaron, Ira E., College of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Abate, Harry, Principal, Niagara Street School, Niagara Falls, N.Y.
Abbott, Samuel L., Jr., Radford State Teachers College, Radford, Va.
Abel, Frederick P., University of Minnesota High School, Minneapolis, Minn.
Abelson, Harold H., College of the City of New York, New York, N.Y.
Abernethy, Ethel M., Queens College, Charlotte, N.C.
Abraham, Willard, Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz.
Acharlu, K. S., 1404/4 Temple Rd., Bangalore 3, Mysore State, India
Adams, Mrs. Daisy Trice, Principal, Charles Sumner School, Kansas City, Mo.
Adams, Robert G., Principal, Lincoln School, Oakland, Calif.
Addelston, Lorraine W., Principal, Public School 89, Queens, Elmhurst, N.Y.
Addicott, Irwin O., Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif.
Adelaide Marie, Sister, Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Tex.
Adell, James C., Bureau of Educ. Research, Bd. of Educ., Cleveland, Ohio
Adlerblum, Yetta, 535 West 110th St., New York, N.Y.
Adolphsen, Louis John, Albert Lea Senior High School, Albert Lea, Minn.
Agnes, Sister, St. Joseph's Academy, Crookston, Minn.
Ahearn, John J., Principal, Elementary School, Lacombe, La.
Ahmann, J. Stanley, Sch. of Educ., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Albin, Floyd B., Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Ore.
Albright, Frank S., Supv., Secondary Education, Public Schools, Gary, Ind.
Alcorn, Marvin D., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Aldrich, Frederic D., 1054 Greyton Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Alexander, Jean H., Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Alexander, William M., School of Educ., Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
Allen, Beatrice Ona, Principal, Waters Elementary School, Chicago, Ill.
Allen, D. W., Director of Educ., Ohio State Reformatory, Mansfield, Ohio
Allen, Edward E., Supv. Principal of Schools, Akron, N.Y.
Allen, Herbert E., Superintendent of Schools, Rifle, Colo.
Allen, Hugh D., Dir., George Williams College Camp, Williams Bay, Wis.
Allen, James Robert, Curriculum Consultant, Public Schools, Louisville, Ky.
Allen, Ross L., State University Teachers College, Cortland, N.Y.
Allen, William H., Bur. of Audio-Vis. Instr., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Almcrantz, Mrs. Georgia, Box 87, Marseilles, Ill.
Alston, Melvin O., Florida Agric. and Mech. University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Alt, Pauline M., Teachers Col. of Connecticut, New Britain, Conn.
Altena, Juul V. R., Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.
Amar, Wesley F., 8036 S. Green St., Chicago, Ill.
Ambellan, Frederick, Superintendent of Schools, Goversville, N.Y.
Amberson, Jean D., Home Econ. Bldg., Pa. State Col., State College, Pa.
Ambrose, Luther M., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Berea College, Berea, Ky.
Amundson, Carl L., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Anderson, Carl L., P.O. Box 1023, Denver, Colo.
Anderson, Ernest M., Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kan.
Anderson, G. Lester, Dean, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
Anderson, Harold A., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Anderson, Harold H., Head, Psych. Dept., Mich. State Col., East Lansing, Mich.
Anderson, Harry D., Supt., Maine Township High School, Des Plaines, Ill.

Anderson, Hayden L. V., Caribou School Dept., Caribou, Me.
Anderson, Howard R., 2140 East Ave., Rochester, N.Y.
Anderson, John E., Inst. of Child Welfare, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Anderson, Kenenth E., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Anderson, Marion, Ginn & Company, Boston, Mass.
Anderson, Philip S., State Teachers College, River Falls, Wis.
Anderson, Robert H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Anderson, Rodney, Northern Illinois State Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Anderson, Vernon E., School of Educ., Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Anderson, Walter A., Sch. of Educ., New York University, New York, N.Y.
Anderson, William H., Prin., Smiley Junior High School, Denver, Colo.
Anderson, William Harold, Principal, Cooley School, North Kansas City, Mo.
Anderson, William P., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Andes, J. D., Dir., Elem. Educ., Richmond Schools, Richmond, Calif.
Angell, George W., Pres., State Univ. Teachers College, Plattsburg, N.Y.
Angelo, Rev. Mark V., Dept. of Educ., Siena College, Loudonville, N.Y.
Annis, Floyd M., Principal, Culver Public Schools, Culver, Ind.
Ansel, James O., Western Michigan College of Education, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Antell, Henry, 120 Kenilworth Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Anthony, John J., University Village, Unit MB, Minneapolis, Minn.
Apple, Joe A., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Appleby, Mrs. May A., Macon Dr., Box 477, R. 9, Atlanta, Ga.
Appleton, David, Superintendent of Schools, Conway, N.H.
Aram, M., Sri Ramakrishna Mission, Vidyalaze, Coimbatore Dist., Madras State, India
Arbuckle, Dugald S., Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Archer, Clifford P., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Armstrong, Grace, State Teachers College, Mankato, Minn.
Armstrong, Hubert C., Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Calif.
Armstrong, V. L., 1906 Ullrich, Austin, Tex.
Arnaud, E. E., Supt., Edgewood School District, San Antonio, Tex.
Arnesen, Arthur E., Supv., Curriculum and Research, Salt Lake City, Utah
Arnold, Earl A., North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
Arnold, Mabel, Dept. of Educ., Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Arnold, William E., Dir., Educ. Service Bureau, Philadelphia, Pa.
Arnstein, George E., California College of Arts and Crafts, Oakland, Calif.
Arny, Clara Brown, University Farm, Univ. of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.
Arrant, Mrs. Maeleen C., A.M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.
Arsenian, Seth, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.
Artley, A. Sterl, School of Educ., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Arveson, R. G., Superintendent of Schools, Leeds, N.D.
Ashbaugh, Ernest J., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
Ashe, Robert W., Superintendent, Union High School District, Glendale, Ariz.
Ashland, Homer B., Superintendent of Schools, Rutland, Vt.
Atkinson, William N., Pres., Jackson Junior College, Jackson, Mich.
Auble, Donavon, Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio
Aukerman, R. C., Dean, Northeast Missouri State Teachers Col., Kirksville, Mo.
Austin, David B., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Austin, Mary C., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Ausubel, D. P., Bur. of Research & Serv., Univ. of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Avegno, T. Sylvia, Supv., Student Teachers, Fordham Univ., New York, N.Y.
Ayer, Jean, 2 Little Point St., Essex, Conn.
Ayer, Joseph C., Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio

Baar, Lincoln F., Asst. Prin., Junior High School 117, Bronx, New York, N.Y.
Babcock, George T., 182 Second St., San Francisco, Calif.
Bachman, Mrs. Nina S., Teachers College, Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bachman, Ralph V., Principal, South High School, Salt Lake City, Utah
Bacon, Francis L., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Bacon, William P., Air Command and Staff Col., Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.
Bahn, Lorene A., 32 South Elm Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.

Bailer, Joseph R., Dept. of Educ., Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
Bailey, Dwight L., Western Illinois State Teachers College, Macomb, Ill.
Bailey, Edna W., School of Educ., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Bailey, Francis L., President, State Teachers College, Gorham, Me.
Bailey, Lucile, Principal, Wm. T. Machan School, Phoenix, Ariz.
Bair, Medill, Supv. Principal, Pennsbury Schools, Fallsington, Pa.
Baker, Harry J., Dir., Psych. Clinic, Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Mich.
Baker, Harry L., Head, Dept. of Educ. & Psy., State College, Manhattan, Kan.
Baker, James F., Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Baker, John E., Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
Baldwin, Robert D., West Virginia University, Morgantown, W.Va.
Balian, Arthur, Southern Colony and Training School, Union Grove, Wis.
Ballantine, Francis A., Dept. of Educ., San Diego State Col., San Diego, Calif.
Ballard, Martha Jane, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Baller, Warren R., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Ballou, Stephen V., Div. of Educ., Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif.
Balyeat, F. A., University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Banks, L. Frazer, Superintendent of Schools, Birmingham, Ala.
Banner, Carolyn, Critic Teacher, Langston University, Langston, Okla.
Barber, Anson B., Superintendent of Schools, Attleboro, Mass.
Barber, Fred H., Box 24, Emory, Va.
Barden, John G., Appalachian State College, Boone, N.C.
Barlow, Melvin L., State Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Barnard, William H., Dept. of Educ., Miss. State Col., State College, Miss.
Barnes, Cyrus W., 625 Eastern Ave., Greenville, Ill.
Barnes, Fred P., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Barnett, Glenn E., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Barnett, Robert G., 2414 W. Whitton Ave., Pheonix, Ariz.
Barnhiser, Mrs. Armand O., Patterson School, Dayton, Ohio
Barr, Charlotte A., 4950 South Archer Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Barrie, Margaret J., Principal, Lincoln School, Hawthorne, N.J.
Barry, Florence G., Adjustment Teacher, Lawson Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Barry, Robert F., Board of Education, Rochester, N.Y.
Bartels, Isabella, 3024 Fairway Drive, Dayton, Ohio
Barth, Rev. Pius J., Chm., Bd. of Trustees, Quincy College, Quincy, Ill.
Bartlett, Roland O., Principal, Westmount Sr. High School, Westmount, Que.
Barton, George E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Bash, Abraham, 135-01 228th Street, Laurelton, N.Y.
Batchelder, Howard T., Dept. of Educ., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Bateman, E. Allen, Supt. of Public Instruction, Salt Lake City, Utah
Batha, Robert, Principal, Junior-Senior High School, Chester, Calif.
Battle, John A., 131 Bluff Ave., Cranston, R.I.
Baxter, Marlin B., Elem. Education Dept., Oshkosh, Wis.
Beadle, Laurena A., Dean of Women, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
Beadles, William T., Dean, Illinois Wesleyan Univ., Bloomington, Ill.
Beahm, W. I., Prin., Donegal High School, Mount Joy, Pa.
Beall, Ross H., Dept. of Educ., University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.
Beamer, George C., North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
Beard, Richard L., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Beattie, Alfred W., Supt., Allegheny County Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Beatty, Walcott H., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Beauchamp, George A., School of Educ., Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
Bebb, Aldon M., Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kan.
Bebell, Clifford, School of Educ., University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Bechtel, Blair B., Moorestown High School, Moorestown, N.J.
Beck, Alfred D., N.Y.C. Board of Educ., New York City, N.Y.
Beck, Hubert Park, 523 West 121st St., New York, N.Y.
Beck, John M., Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Beck, Norman W., Superintendent, Monroe County Schools, Waterloo, Ill.
Beck, Ralph Lea, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio
Becker, Harry A., Superintendent of Schools, Norwalk, Conn.

Becker, Millie, 8012 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Becker, Philip, Brooklyn H.S. for Specialty Trades, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bedell, Ralph, United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Beecher, Robert H., Canal Zone Jr. College, LaBoca Branch, Balboa, Canal Zone
Beery, Althea, Supv., Elem. Educ., Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio
Beery, John R., Dean, Sch. of Educ., University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
Behrens, Herman D., Dept. of Educ., State Teachers College, Oneonta, N.Y.
Behrens, Minnie S., Elem. Educ. Dept., East Texas Tchrs. Col., Commerce, Tex.
Beilin, Harry, 2744 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Beiser, M. J., Superintendent of Schools, Eaton Rapids, Mich.
Belen, Hermogenes F., 117-A Suter, Sta. Ana, Manila, Philippines
Bell, Dorothy M., President, Bradford Junior College, Bradford, Mass.
Bell, Millard D., Superintendent, School Dist. 39, Wilmette, Ill.
Bell, R. W., Principal, Jenkintown High School, Jenkintown, Pa.
Bellack, Arno A., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Bellis, Bertha, McMurry Lab. School, State Tchrs. College, DeKalb, Ill.
Benben, John S., Northern Ill. State Tchrs. College, DeKalb, Ill.
Bennett, Robert N., Supv. Prin., Martin Van Buren H. School, Kinderhook, N.Y.
Bennion, Hugh C., Dean of Faculty, Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho
Bentley, Harold, Director, Worcester Junior College, Worcester, Mass.
Benz, H. E., Col. of Educ., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Beran, D. L., Col. of Educ., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Berg, Selmer H., Superintendent of Schools, Oakland, Calif.
Berge, Marvin L., Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Elgin, Ill.
Bergum, Gordon B., 120 Second Avenue S.E., Little Falls, Minn.
Berkson, I. B., 39 Claremont Avenue, New York, N.Y.
Berlin, Pearl W., Dept. of Phys. Educ., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Berman, Samuel, Prin., FitzSimons Junior High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bernard, Harold W., Portland State Extension Center, Portland, Ore.
Berning, Emanuel F., 972 McLean Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Bernstein, Abbot A., 224 Lexington Ave., Passaic, N.J.
Bernstein, Louis, Prin., Junior High School 29, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bernstein, Norma Louise, Claymount Gardens, Claymount, Del.
Berson, Mrs. Philomena M., Asst. Prin., Public School 125, New York, N.Y.
Berthold, Charles A., Prin., Clifton High School, Clifton, N.J.
Bertness, Henry J., 2419-29th Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Bertrand, John R., Dean, Col. of Agric., Univ. of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
Best, L. R., Principal, DuBois School, Wake Forest, N.C.
Betts, Emmett A., 830 Chauncey Road, Penn Valley, Narberth, Pa.
Beverly, Mrs. Austin C., Prin., Spicer Demonstration School, Akron, Ohio
Beyer, Fred C., County Superintendent of Schools, Modesto, Calif.
Bickel, L. G., Dean, Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Neb.
Biemesderfer, D. L., State Teachers College, Millersville, Penn.
Biester, Lillian L., Arizona State College, Flagstaff, Ariz.
Bigelow, M. A., Prin., Franklin and Brookside Schools, Bloomfield, N.J.
Bigelow, Roy G., Div. of Educ. & Psych., Miss. Southern Col., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Biggy, M. Virginia, 227 Independence Drive, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Bilger, Leonora Nueffer, Dept. of Chem., University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii
Bilhorn, J. Chester, 3846 North Kedvale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Billett, Roy O., School of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Billig, Florence Grace, Col. of Educ., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Bills, Mark W., Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Mo.
Bilterman, Kathryn S., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Binford, George H., Principal, Central High School, Charlotte Courthouse, Va.
Birkmaier, Emma, Univ. High School, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Birmingham, Sister Digna, College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, Minn.
Bishop, C. L., Chm., Dept. of Educ., State Tchrs. College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Bishop, S. D., Principal, Community High School, West Chicago, Ill.
Bixler, Lorin, Dept. of Educ., Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio
Bjork, A. J., University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.
Black, E. H., Superintendent, LaMarque Independent School, LaMarque, Tex.

Black, H. B., Prin., Signal Hill School, East St. Louis, Ill.
Black, Leo P., Department of Public Instruction, Lincoln, Neb.
Black, Millard H., Box 294, San Diego, Calif.
Blackburn, Cleo W., Exec. Dir., Flanner House, Indianapolis, Ind.
Blackburn, Clifford S., Superintendent of Schools, North Little Rock, Ark.
Blaha, M. Jay, Curric. Co-ord., Los Angeles County Schools., Los Angeles, Calif.
Blair, Lois C., State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa.
Blake, Paul C., Superintendent of Schools, Eddyville, Iowa
Blakeslee, Edward Ray, Jr., 717 Essex Drive, Wilmington, N.C.
Blanchard, B. Everhard, Plymouth Teachers College, Plymouth, N.H.
Bliesmer, Emery P., Col. of Educ., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Blisard, Thomas J., Newark Col. of Engineering, Newark, N.J.
Blodgett, Darrell R., Superintendent of Schools, Wheaton, Ill.
Blommers, Paul. Col. of Educ., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Blood, Don F., West. Washington Col. of Education, Bellingham, Wash.
Blyth, Donald J., Principal, Brainard Elementary School, Chicago, Ill.
Boardman, Charles W., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Bodarky, Clifford J., 1535 Margaret St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Boeck, Clarence H., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Boehm, Charles H., County Superintendent of Schools, Doylestown, Pa.
Bogle, Frank P., Superintendent of Schools, Morristown, N.J.
Boland, Michael P., St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bole, Lyman W., Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Vt.
Bole, Rita L., President, Lyndon Teachers College, Lyndon Center, Vt.
Bolinger, Mrs. Elizabeth, 2924 East Fifth St., Long Beach, Calif.
* Bolton, Frederick E., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Bond, G. W., Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston, La.
Bond, George W., State Teachers College, New Paltz, N.Y.
Bond, Guy L., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Bond, Jesse A., Dir., Tchr. Trg., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Bone, Margaretta, Mansfield State Teachers College, Mansfield, Pa.
Bonner, Thomas N., Dean, William Woods College, Fulton, Mo.
Bonsall, Marcella Ryser, 137 Warwick Pl., South Pasadena, Calif.
Booker, Ivan A., Div. of Press and Radio Rela., N.E.A., Washington, D.C.
Booker, Nancy, Sydney Teachers College, Newtown, New South Wales, Australia
Bookwalter, Karl W., Sch. of Educ., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Borberg, Charles E., Principal, Senior High School, Billings, Mont.
Boros, Arnold L., 396 East 170th St., New York, N.Y.
Bossier, Antonia M., 1661 North Roman St., New Orleans, La.
Bossing, Nelson L., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Boswell, Sidney, Principal, Glynn Academy, Brunswick, Ga.
Bottrell, Harold R., Col. of Educ., University of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Bouchard, John B., State Teachers College, Fredonia, N.Y.
Bowden, E. L., Head, Educ. Dept., Univ. of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Tex.
Bowers, Norman D., United States Navy Sch. of Aviation Med., Pensacola, Fla.
Bowyer, Vernon O., 225 Millbridge Rd., Riverside, Ill.
Boyd, Elizabeth Marie, 4146 West 63rd St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Boyd, Fred, Box 247, Leachville, Ark.
Boyd, G. R., Dean, State Teachers College, Troy, Ala.
Boyd, Laurence E., Sch. of Educ., Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Boyd, Margaret, Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Steubenville, Ohio
Boyd, Robert D., Laboratory Schls., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Boykin, Leander L., Dir., Div. of Educ., Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
Bracken, John L., 7500 Maryland Avenue, Clayton, Mo.
Brackett, Lee, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Bradbeer, Marion R., 319 W. Cleveland Street, Spring Valley, Ill.
Bradfield, James M., Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Calif.
Bradley, Leslie L., Wright Junior College, Chicago, Ill.
Bradley, Raymond J., Chm., Div. of Educ., Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
Bragdon, Helen D., Genl. Dir., American Assn. of Univ. Women, Washington, D.C.
Bragner, William E., Metuchen Public Schools, Metuchen, N.J.

Brandon, Mrs. Bertha M., Waco Public Schools, Waco, Tex.
Brandt, Willard J., Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Branom, Frederick K., Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Branom, Wayne T., Superintendent of Schools, Hillside, N.J.
Brasted, F. Kenneth, 2 East 48th St., New York, N.Y.
Bratton, J. Wesley, Dean, Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Brechbill, Henry, Dept. of Educ., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Breen, Lelwyn C., Territorial College of Guam, Agana, Guam
BreMiller, F. Stuart, 816 West Springfield Rd., Springfield, Delaware Co., Pa.
Brennan, Thomas G., Superintendent, Catholic Schools, Saginaw, Mich.
Brewer, Karl M., Superintendent of Schools, DuBois, Pa.
Brewer, Wenonah G., Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Brickman, Benjamin, Dept. of Educ., Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Brickman, William W., Dept. of Educ., New York University, New York, N.Y.
Briggs, Charles C., Dept. of Educ., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Briggs, Elmer H., Prin., Murrell Dobbins Voc.-Tech. Sch., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bright, O. T., Jr., Superintendent of Schools, Lake Bluff, Ill.
Brimley, Ralph F. W., Supt., Forsyth County Schools, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Brink, William G., School of Educ., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Brinkley, Sterling G., 1197 Emory Dr., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Brinkman, A. John, Principal, Longfellow and Greene Schls., Chicago, Ill.
Brish, William M., Superintendent, Washington County Schls., Hagerstown, Md.
Brislawn, Maurice J., Prin., Monticello Junior High School, Longview, Wash.
Bristow, William H., Dir. of Bureau of Curriculum Research, New York, N.Y.
Britton, Edward C., 1429 El Tejon Way, Sacramento, Calif.
Britton, Ernest R., Superintendent of Schools, Midland, Mich.
Broening, Angela M., Dir. of Publications, Public Schls., Baltimore, Md.
Bronson, Moses L., 104 West 70th St., New York, N.Y.
Brooks, John J., Dir., New Lincoln School, New York, N.Y.
Brooks, Mary B., Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Ga.
Brostoff, Theodore M., Hunington Park High School, Hunington Park, Calif.
Brougher, John F., Principal, Woodrow Wilson High School, Washington, D.C.
Brown, Alma, 8155 Santa Fe Dr., Overland Park, Kan.
Brown, Cynthiana E., Univ. Elem. Schl., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Brown, F. Frank, Dir. of Instruction, City Schools, Martinsville, Va.
Brown, Francis J., 2500 Que St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Brown, Francis W., Superintendent, Ottawa Hills School, Toledo, Ohio
Brown, Gerald W., Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Brown, Sister Gertrude Ann, Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa
Brown, Grant, Editor-in-Chief, American Book Co., New York, N.Y.
Brown, Harold N., Sch. of Educ., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
Brown, Hugh S., Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pa.
Brown, I. C., Prin., Perrin-Thomas School, Columbia, S.C.
Brown, Josephine H., State Teachers College, Bowie, Md.
Brown, Mrs. Marjorie Dowling, Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, Calif.
Brown, Milton W., Superintendent of Schools, West Orange, N.J.
Brown, Ralph Adams, State Teachers College, Cortland, N.Y.
Brown, Thomas J., Hofstra College, Hempstead, N.Y.
Browne, Kenneth A., Dean of Instruction, State Teachers College, Towson, Md.
Browne, Robert E., Asst. Superintendent, City Schools, Taft, Calif.
Browne, Rose Butler, North Carolina College, Durham, N.C.
Brownell, S. M., U.S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C.
Brownell, W. A., Dean, Schl. of Educ., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Browning, Roy W., Dir., Placement & Stud. Activ., Phillips Univ., Enid, Okla.
Brubaker, Henry G., President, Upland College, Upland, Calif.
Bruce, Aldon J., Principal, Marston Elementary School, Illinois City, Ill.
Bruce, Thor W., Auditor, Bd. of Education, St. Louis, Mo.
Bruce, William C., Editor, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
* Bruck, John P., 218 Potters Corners Road, Buffalo, N.Y.
Brueckner, Leo J., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Brumbaugh, A. J., Dir., Council for Study of Higher Educ., Tallahassee, Fla.

Brumbaugh, W. Donald, Dir., Audio-vis. Bur., Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Brunner, Henry S., Head, Dept. of Agr. Educ., State College, Pa.
Brunner, Howard B., Supv. Principal of Schools, Scotch Plains, N.J.
Brunson, Mrs. DeWitt, Ellis Avenue School, Orangeburg, S.C.
Brust, Norman D., R.R. 3, Joliet, Ill.
Bryant, Hayden C., Dir., Teacher Educ., Mercer University, Macon, Ga.
Bryant, Ira B., Prin., Booker T. Washington High School, Houston, Tex.
Bryant, Spurgeon Q., Principal, Lanier High School, Lanett, Ala.
Buchanan, Alfred K., New Haven State Teachers College, New Haven, Conn.
Buchanan, Paul G., 195 Neponset Ave., Dorchester, Mass.
Buckingham, B. R., R.R. 1, Box 18, Stuart, Fla.
Buckingham, Guy E., Division of Educ., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Buckley, J. L., Superintendent of Schools, Lockhart, Tex.
Buckner, J. L., Principal, Hamilton High School, Memphis, Tenn.
Buckner, John W., Prin., High School, Crystal Lake, Ill.
Buckner, W. N., Armstrong Tech. High School, Washington, D.C.
Bueker, A. H., Superintendent of Schools, Marshall, Mo.
Buelke, John A., Western Michigan College, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Buley, Hilton C., Commissioner of Education, Concord, N.H.
Bullock, Harrison, 354 Quintora St., San Francisco, Calif.
Bullock, W. J., Superintendent of Schools, Kannapolis, N.C.
Bunker, James G., Superintendent, Secondary Schools, Coalinga, Calif.
Burch, Robert L., Ginn and Company, Boston, Mass.
Burdick, Richard L., Educ. Dept., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
Burdine, D. I., Prairie View A. & M. College, Prairie View, Tex.
Burg, Ruth M., 502 Walnut St., Allentown, Pa.
Burgess, J. R., President, Reinhardt College, Waleska, Ga.
Burgess, Thomas C., Psych. Dept., Oregon State College, Corvallis, Ore.
Burk, R. Burdett, Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Burke, Arvid J., New York State Teachers Assn., Albany, N.Y.
Burke, Gladys, 244 Outlook Ave., Youngstown, Ohio
Burke, Henry R., Caldwell Hall, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
Burkhardt, Allen P., President, Norfolk Junior College, Norfolk, Neb.
Burlingame, Anna Louise, Principal, Ray School, Chicago, Ill.
Burnett, Lewie W., Dir. of Educ., Public Schools, Monroe, Mich.
Burnham, Archer L., Nebraska State Teachers Assn., Lincoln, Neb.
Burns, Robert L., 1063 Palisade Ave., Palisade, N.J.
Buros, Francis C., Asst. Superintendent of Schools, White Plains, N.Y.
Burr, Elbert W., International Harvester Co., Chicago, Ill.
Burt, Lucile, Principal, Lincoln School, Fond du Lac, Wis.
Burton, W. H., Dept. of Educ., Southwestern University, Georgetown, Tex.
Burton, William H., School of Educ., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Bush, Clifford L., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Bushnell, Almon W., Superintendent of Schools, Meredith, N.H.
Bussell, Lyell, Prin., Stevenson Elementary School, Muncie, Ind.
Buswell, G. T., School of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Buswell, Margaret M., Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Butler, Judson R., Dean, Boston Univ. Col. of Gen. Education, Boston, Mass.
Butorac, Frank G., 700 So. State St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Butterweck, Joseph S., Dir., Div. of Sec. Educ., Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
Butts, Franklin A., Principal, Clinton School, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Butts, R. Freeman, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Buyse, R., School of Educ., University of Louvain, Tournai, Belgium
Byerly, Carl L., Dir. of Special Serv., School Dist., Clayton, Mo.
Byram, Harold M., Head, Dept. of Voc. Educ., Mich. State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Byrne, Richard Hill, Col. of Educ., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Caccavo, Emil, J-2, University Apartments, Newark, Del.
Cafasso, Orlando V., 21 Locust St., Everett, Mass.
Caird, Mrs. Florence B., Prin., J. A. Sexton School, Chicago, Ill.

Callaway, Byron, Peabody Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Cambron, Emmett F., North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
Cameron, Walter C., Principal, Lincoln Junior High School, Framingham, Mass.
Campbell, R. F., College of Educ., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Cannon, W. E., School of Educ., Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Canuteson, Richard, State Teachers College, Brockport, N.Y.
Capps, Mrs. Marian P., State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S.C.
Carbaugh, Gaile A., Dir., Holcomb Campus Sch., Teachers Colelge, Geneseo, N.Y.
Cardwell, Robert H., Fair Garden School, Knoxville, Tenn.
Carlson, C. E., Superintendent of Schools, Ramsay, Mich.
Carlson, Clara H., Principal, Elementary School, Elmont, N.Y.
Carlson, Evelyn F., Principal, DuSable High School, Chicago, Ill.
Carlson, Thorsten R., Prin., Lab. Sch., San Diego State Col., San Diego, Calif.
Carmichael, Omer, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Ky.
Carpenter, W. W., Dept. of Educ., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Carr, Edwin R., Col. of Educ., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Carr, John W., Jr., Sch. of Educ., Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Carrithers, Lura M., Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Carroll, John B., Grad. Sch. of Educ., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Carroll, John S., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Tex. Tech. College, Lubbock, Tex.
Carter, Gordon, Supt., Bellington School Dist. 501, Bellingham, Wash.
Carter, Harold D., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Carter, R. L., Head, Dept. of Educ., Stetson University, De Land, Fla.
Carter, Ruby, Dir. of Child Study, Harlan, Ky.
Carter, W. R., Dept. of Educ., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Casale, Mary R., 1555 Mohawk St., Utica, N.Y.
Caskey, Helen C., Tchrs. Col., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Caspers, Earl M., Hanau American Elementary School, Hanau, Germany
Cassel, Lloyd S., Superintendent of Schools, Freehold, N.J.
Cassell, George F., 136 South Hamlin St., Chicago, Ill.
Cassidy, Rosalind, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Caswell, Hollis L., President, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Catharine Francis, Sister, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia, Pa.
Cavan, Jordan, Dept. of Education, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.
Cawthon, John A., Louisiana Polytechnic Inst., Ruston, La.
Cayne, Bernard S., 77 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass.
Center, Aaron M., 922 Queen Ave., North, Minneapolis, Minn.
Centi, Paul J., 68 Tehama St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Chadderdon, Hester, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
Chall, Jeanne, 218 East 12th St., New York, N.Y.
Chalmers, James F., Principal, High School, Perth Amboy, N.J.
Chamberlin, R. G., Principal, Rufus King High School, Milwaukee, Wis.
Chambers, W. Max, President, Central State College, Edmond, Okla.
Champlin, George R., Superintendent of Schools, Willimantic, Conn.
Chandler, H. E., Dept. of Educ., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Chapman, Averill M., Dir. of Curriculum, City Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Chapman, Catherine, Weatherford College, Weatherford, Tex.
Charles, William L., Principal, Southside School, Jacksonville, Fla.
Charnock, Leonard W. H., Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.
Charry, Lawrence, 5746 N. Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Charters, Alexander N., University College, Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y.
Chase, Francis S., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Chase, W. Linwood, Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Chauncey, Marlin R., Oklahoma Agric. and Mech. College, Stillwater, Okla.
Cheek, N. A., Principal, W. G. Pearson Elementary School, Durham, N.C.
Cheeks, L. E., 213 McFarland St., Kerrville, Tex.
Chenault, R. N., Principal, Warner School, Nashville, Tenn.
Cherry, J. H., Asst. Supt., Joliet Township H. S. & Jr. Col., Joliet, Ill.
Chesson, Purvis J., Prin., Bowling Park School, Norfolk, Va.
Chidester, Albert J., Head, Education Dept., Berea College, Berea, Ky.
Childress, Jack R., Dir., Univ. Col., Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

Chipman, R. S., Superintendent of Schools, Coalville, Utah
Choate, Ernest A., Principal, Roosevelt Jr. High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Christensen, Arnold M., Long Beach State Col., Long Beach, Calif.
Christian, Mary R., Principal, Riverview Elem. Sch., Daytona Beach, Fla.
Christman, Paul S., Supervising Principal, Schuylkill Haven, Pa.
Churchill, Ray L., Principal, Harrison Elementary School, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Clara Francis, Sister, Nazareth College, Louisville, Ky.
Clark, Mrs. C. Esmer Knudson, 2274 Cedar St., Berkeley, Calif.
Clark, Catherine, Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Clark, Elmer J., Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Clark, Francis E., St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.
Clark, John F., Superintendent of Schools, Dist. 45, Villa Park, Ill.
Clarke, L. Katherine, Prin., Meramec School, Clayton, Mo.
Clarke, Stanley C. T., University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alba.
Clayton, Thomas E., Dept. of Educ., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
Clayton, Wesley, Supt. of Schools, North Branch, Mich.
Cleveland, E. D., Superintendent of Schools, Palestine, Tex.
Clifford, Paul I., Sch. of Educ., Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Clift, Virgil Alfred, 3501 Greenwood Ave., Louisville, Ky.
Clifton, L. L., Dean, Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Cline, Don Courtney, 1016 S. Orange Grove Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Cline, William Rodney, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
Clodfelter, C. R., Box 158, Snyder, Okla.
Cloues, Paul, Submaster, Harvard School, Charlestown, Mass.
Clouthier, Raymond P., Dept. of Educ., Lewis College, Lockport, Ill.
Clugston, Herbert A., Dean, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn.
Clymer, T. W., Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Cobb, J. E., Indiana State Tchrs. College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Cochran, J. Chester, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Cochrane, Roy, Dir. of Educ. Research, Public Schools, Tacoma, Wash.
Codwell, John E., Principal, Phillis Wheatley High School, Houston, Tex.
Coetzee, J. Christian, University College, Potchefstroom, South Africa
Coffield, William H., 411 North Dubuque St., Iowa City, Iowa
Cohen, George, U.S. Disciplinary Barracks, Camp Crowder, Mo.
Cohen, Saris, 825 West End Ave., New York, N.Y.
Cohler, Milton J., Prin., Sullivan High School, Chicago, Ill.
Colburn, A. B., Principal, Omak Senior High School, Omak, Wash.
Cole, Glenn A., Dept. of Educ., University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
Cole, Mary I., Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Ky.
Coleman, Mary Elizabeth, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Collette, Mabel, Supv. of Prim. Educ., State Dept. of Educ., Baton Rouge, La.
Collings, Miller R., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Collins, Ralph C., 177 Harvey St., Eugene, Ore.
Conaway, Mrs. Freda Y., Dir., Elem. Educ., State Col., West Liberty, W.Va.
Conradi, Catharine M., Head, Dept. of Educ., Brenau College, Gainsville, Ga.
Conway, Marie M., 4925 Saul St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Cook, Raymond M., Dean, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Cook, Ruth Cathlyn, Supv. Lab. Sch., State Teachers College, Mankato, Minn.
Cook, Walter W., Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Coon, Beulah I., U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Coon, W. Edwin, Prin., Academy High School, Erie, Pa.
Cooper, George H., 2813 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Cooper, J. Louis, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Cooper, Lewis B., Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Tex.
Cooper, Shirley, American Assn. of School Administrators, Washington, D.C.
Corbally, John E., Dept. of Educ., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Corey, Stephen M., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Cornell, Francis G., Dir., Bur. of Res. and Serv., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Cornish, Dale, 5770 Dudley St., Arvada, Colo.
Corrigan, A. B., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.
Corrothers, Thomasine, Dept. of Educ., Miner Teachers Col., Washington, D.C.

Cory, N. Durward, Superintendent of Schools, Rochester, Minn.
Cossa, John A., Dean, Dept. of Educ., Manhattan College, New York, N.Y.
Coster, J. K., Div. of Educ., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
Cotter, Katharine C., Dept. of Educ., Boston College, Osterville, Mass.
Coulson, John R., Principal, A. O. Sexton School, Chicago, Ill.
Coulter, Robert W., Supt., Port Huron Township Sch. Dist., Port Huron, Mich.
Courter, Claude V., Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio
* Courtis, S. A., 9110 Dwight Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Cousins, E. H., Cross Roads P.O., Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies
Covell, Merle O., Head, Dept. of Educ., Kansas Wesleyan Univ., Salina, Kan.
Cowan, William A., San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Cox, Edith Clare, 117 Central Ave., Shelby, Mont.
Cox, Johnnye V., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Cox, Mrs. Myrtie, 308 Oak St., East Point, Ga.
Coxe, W. W., Educ. Research Div., State Educ. Dept., Albany, N.Y.
Crackel, Verne E., Superintendent, Will County Schools, Joliet, Ill.
Cragen, Mrs. Dorothy Clora, County Supt. of Schools, Independence, Calif.
*Craig, Gerald S., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Craig, Robert C., Sch. of Educ., State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.
Craig, Mrs. Sadie M., 206 Third Ave., N.E., Hickory, N.C.
Cramer, Beatrice E., Post Road Junior High School, White Plains, N.Y.
Crawford, C. C., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Crawford, J. R., Sch. of Educ., University of Maine, Orono, Me.
Crawford, Robert T., Lewis County Schools, Weston, W.Va.
Crawford, T. James, Sch. of Business, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Crawshaw, Clyde, Superintendent of Schools, Marseilles, Ill.
Crenshaw, Sam, Lamar Junior High School, Bryan, Tex.
Creswell, Mrs. Rowena C., Prin., A. & M. Cons. Elem. Sch., College Station, Tex.
Crippens, N. A., State Department of Educ., A. & I. College, Nashville, Tenn.
Cross, C. Willard, Superintendent of Schools, Faribault, Minn.
Cross, Charles H., Dir., Univ. Trg. Sch., Univ. of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
Crowlie, Mrs. Leone B., 215 W. Minnehaha Parkway, Minneapolis, Minn.
Crull, Howard D., Superintendent of Schools, Port Huron, Mich.
Crum, Clyde E., Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Crumb, Frederick W., President, Potsdam State Teachers Col., Potsdam, N.Y.
Crumbling, C. S., Superintendent of Schools, Laureldale, Pa.
Crunden, Mrs. Marjorie Morse, 30 Porter Place, Montclair, N.J.
Crundwell, Elsie, Chief of Staff, Franklin School, East Chicago, Ind.
Crutchley, Mrs. Susan D., Southampton High School, Southampton, L.I., N.Y.
Crutsinger, George M., Howard Payne College, Brownwood, Tex.
Cumbee, Carroll F., Col. of Educ., Universty of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Cummings, Matthew G., 131 Kensington Ave., Jersey City, N.J.
Cunliffe, R. B., Sch. of Educ., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
Cunningham, Daniel F., Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Chicago, Ill.
Cunningham, Harry A., Dept. of Biol., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
Cunningham, J., Cossitt Library, Memphis, Tenn.
Cunningham, Ruth, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Cunningham, W. F., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
Curry, Guy A., Assoc. Dir., Ark. Experiment in Tchr. Educ., Little Rock, Ark.
Curtin, James R., Principal, Elementary Schools, Independence, Ore.
Curtin, Wylma R., Dept. of Educ., Loyola Univ., New Orleans, La.
Curtis, E. Louise, Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Curtis, James E., San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.
Curtis, Russell W., Janesville Public Schools, Janesville, Wis.
Cusenza, Dominic, 1651 East 91st St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dabney, Lillian G., Dept. of Educ., Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.
Dabney, Richard S., State Department of Education, Jefferson City, Mo.
Dale, Edgar, Col. of Educ., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Dallmann, Martha, Dept. of Educ., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
Dameron, Vernon, Dir. of Educ., Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Mich.

D'Amico, Charles C., 233 W. Bank St., Albion, N.Y.
Daniel, J. McT., University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
Daniel, Mrs. Theodora H., 15 Beverly Rd., West Hartford, Conn.
Daniels, Paul R., 7700A Wagner Way, Elkins Park, Pa.
Darcy, Natalie T., Dept. of Educ., Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Darden, William J., College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.
Darnall, James D., Superintendent of Schools, Geneseo, Ill.
Darnell, Robert E., Frank Phillips College, Borger, Tex.
Darroch, Frank W., 337 Annette St., Toronto, Ont.
Datig, Edward, Mount Mary College, Somanya Krobo, Gold Coast, West Africa
Davidson, Mrs. Evelyn K., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
Davidson, Lewis, Prin., Knox College, Spaldings, Jamaica, B.W.I.
Davies, Daniel R., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Davies, David W., Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif.
Davies, J. Leonard, East Hall, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Davies, Mrs. Lillian S., Curric. Consult., Rich Twp. High Sch., Park Forest, Ill.
Davis, Alonzo J., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.
Davis, Courtland V., 184 North Bridge St., Somerville, N.J.
Davis, David C., 556 Sanborn, Winona, Minn.
Davis, Dwight M., Dean, Moline Community College, Moline, Ill.
Davis, Floyd A., Supt. of Schools, Knoxville, Iowa
Davis, Gwyndel C., Prin., Alton Senior High School, Alton, Ill.
Davis, H. Curtis, Asst. Supt., Unified School District, San Jose, Calif.
Davis, Helen C., Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.
Davis, Ira C., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Davis, J. Pinckney, Prin., Haut Gap High Sch., John's Island, Charleston, S.C.
Davis, Joseph H., Normandy Junior High School, University City, Mo.
Davis, Milton J., Principal, Gurnee Grade School, Gurnee, Ill.
Davis, Mrs. Nina Preot, Louise S. McGhee School, New Orleans, La.
Davis, W. L., Dept. of Educ., Alabama Polytechnic Inst., Auburn, Ala.
Davis, Warren C., Rochester Inst. of Technology, Rochester, N.Y.
Dawe, Helen C., Dept. of H.E., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Dawson, Dan T., Dept. of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Day, James F., 3525 Vail Ave., S.E., Albuquerque, N.M.
Dean, Nell, Supv., Reading Clinic, University of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Deans, Edwina, 5910 North 15th St., Arlington, Va.
Dear, R. Ernest, Supt. of Schools, Ironwood, Mich.
DeBernardis, Amo, Supv., Audio-visual Educ., Public Schools, Portland, Ore.
Debin, Louis, Junior High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
DeBoer, John J., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
DeCamp, Mrs. Hazel N., Essex County Voc. & Tech. High School, Bloomfield,
    N.J.
Decker, Fred J., Admin. Asst., N. Y. State Tchrs. Retirement Sys., Albany, N.Y.
Deer, George H., Col. of Educ., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
DeHaven, Sula M., Junior High School, Martinsburg, W.Va.
Dejon, John, Jr., 1028 Conkey St., Hammond, Ind.
DeKock, Henry C., Col. of Educ., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
DeKoker, Mary, Bur. of Child Study, Board of Educ., Chicago, Ill.
Delp, Harold A., The Training School, Vineland, N.J.
DeMand, J. W., Dept. of Educ., Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kan.
Denecke, Marie G., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Derby, Orlo L., State University Teachers College, Brockport, N.Y.
DeSion, Sister St. Marie Helene, Notre Dame Col., Grymes Hill, Staten Is., N.Y.
Devor, J. W., Dept. of Educ., Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky.
* DeVoss, James C., Dean, Upper Div., San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.
Dexter, William A., Superintendent of Schools, Easthampton, Mass.
Deyell, J. Douglas, Master, Provincial Tchrs. Col., North Bay, Ontario
Dickerson, James L., Prin., University Demonstration School, Athens, Ga.
Diederich, A. F., 922 South Detroit St., Los Angeles, Calif.
DiLeonarde, Joseph H., Principal, Hendricks School, Chicago, Ill.
Dilley, Norman E., Col. of Educ., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio

Dillinger, Claude, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Dimmett, W. S., Superintendent of Schools, Forest Park, Ill.
Dimond, Stanley E., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Di Napoli, Peter J., Principal, Public School 90, New York, N.Y.
Dingus, Lona G., H.O.W. Staff Quarters 20, Kingsport, Tenn.
Dittmer, Daniel G., Research Psychol., United States Air Force, Alexandria, Va.
Dixon, H. A., Pres., Utah State Agric. College, Logan, Utah
Dixon, W. Robert, School of Educ., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Dodd, John W., Superintendent of Schools, Freeport, N.Y.
Dolan, Francis, Superintendent, LaSalle-Peru Twp. High School, LaSalle, Ill.
Dolch, E. W., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Domian, O. E., 2641 Joppa Ave., St. Louis Park, Minn.
Dominick, Leo H., Superintendent of Schools, International Falls, Minn.
Donner, Arvin N., Dir., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Donohue, Francis J., Pres., St. Mary of the Plains College, Dodge City, Kan.
Dooley, Mrs. Helen, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Doolittle, Nettie-Alice, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Doster, Osie, Dorsey High School, Miami, Fla.
Dotson, John A., Dean, Col. of Educ., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Douglass, H. R., Dir., Col. of Educ., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Douglass, Malcolm P., Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Calif.
Dowling, Thomas I., Supt., Greenwood City Schools, Greenwood, S.C.
Downer, Effie M., Dept. of Education, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Doyle, Andrew McCormick, Chm., Dept. of Educ., St. Vincent Coll., Latrobe, Pa.
Drag, Francis L., Asst. Supt. of Schls., San Diego, Calif.
Dragositz, Anna, 39-80 52nd St., Woodside, L.I., N.Y.
Drake, Richard M., University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
Dransfield, J. Edgar, Deerhaven Road, Oakland, N.J.
Draper, Dale, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Draper, Edgar M., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Dreier, William H., Dept. of Educ., Iowa State Teachers Col., Cedar Falls, Iowa
Dressel, Paul L., Board of Examiners, Mich. State Col., East Lansing, Mich.
Drobka, Frank J., Dept. of Educ., Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
Drotter, Stephen J., Principal, Community High School, Fort Kent, Me.
Drummond, Harold D., George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
Duce, Hugh M., 2460 Lyon St., San Francisco, Calif.
Duell, Henry W., Minneapolis Athletic Club, Minneapolis, Minn.
Duffey, Robert V., 611 Sheffield Dr., Springfield, Pa.
Dunathan, Homer, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio
Duncan, Neal, Principal, Crane Technical High School, Chicago, Ill.
Dunham, Lance, 3609 North 4th Ave., Phoenix, Ariz.
Dunham, Ralph E., Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Dunigan, David R., College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.
Dunkel, Harold B., Dept. of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Dunkle, Maurice Albert, Supt., Calvert County Schools, Prince Frederick, Md.
Dunlap, E. T., Pres., Eastern Okla. A. & M. College, Wilburton, Okla.
Dunn, Minnie, Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala.
Dunne, Joseph G., Headmaster, St. John's Preparatory School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dunning, Charles W., Van Nuys Junior High School, Burbank, Calif.
Durant, Adrian J., Jr., State Department of Education, Jefferson City, Mo.
Durante, Spencer E., Principal, Carver High School, Mount Olive, N.C.
Durflinger, Glenn W., Santa Barbara College, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Durost, Walter, Dir., Test Service and Advisement Center, Dunbarton, N.H.
Durrell, Donald D., Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Dwyer, Roy E., 610 S. Candler Rd., Decatur, Ga.
Dyde, W. F., Dean, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Dyer, Frank E., Delano Jt. Union High School, Delano, Calif.
Dykes, Mrs. Alma, 1418 East St., Reading, Ohio

Eads, Charles V., Principal, Lamar Elem. School, Amarillo, Tex.
Early, William A., 208 Bull St., Savannah, Ga.

Eason, Leo A., Dept. of Educ., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Eastburn, L. A., President, Arizona State College, Flagstaff, Ariz.
Easterly, Rev. Frederick J., Dean, Tchrs. Col., St. John's Univ., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Ebel, Robert L., Dir., Univ. Exam. Serv., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Eberle, August William, Sch. of Educ., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Eberman, Paul W., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Eckelberry, R. H., Bur. of Educ. Research, Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio
Eckert, Ruth E., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Eckles, H. R., Principal, Robert E. Lee School, Richmond, Va.
Eddy, Theo. V., Superintendent of Schools, St. Clair, Mich.
Edgar, Brother Julius, F.S.C., Dean of Studies, St. Mary's Col., Winona, Minn.
Edgar, Robert W., Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Edie, John W., Principal, Gundlach School, St. Louis, Mo.
Edmiston, R. W., Dir. of Extension, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
Edmonson, J. B. *Deceased.*
Edson, William H., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Edwards, Arthur U., Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, Ill.
Edwards, Edward J., Jr., Principal, Garfield-Turner School, Washington, D.C.
Edwards, G. N., Inspector of Schools, Stratford, Ont.
Edwards, Marcia, Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Edwards, Seth Carlyle, Pres., Cuthington Col. & Div. Sch., Monrovia, Liberia
Edwards, T. Bentley, Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Edwards, William B., Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Ill.
Egan, Rev. Bro. John M., Iona College, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Egdorf, M. F., Superintendent of Schools, Garden City, N.Y.
Egeln, William H., 415 Philadelphia Blvd., Sea Girt, N.J.
Ehrenfeld, A., 50 West Ninety-sixth Street, New York, N.Y.
Ehrlich, Emanuel, 622 East Twentieth St., New York, N.Y.
Einolf, W. L., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Eiserer, Paul E., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Ekstrom, Lena, Elem. Supv., Public Schools, Buchanan, Mich.
Elder, Ruth E., Dept. of Elem. Educ., Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Eller, William, Reading Clinic, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Ellerbrook, Louis William, Stephen F. Austin State Col., Nacogdoches, Tex.
Ellingson, Mark, Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, N.Y.
Elliott, Lloyd H., Stone Hall, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
Ellis, Frederick E., University of Minnesota, Col. of Educ., Minneapolis, Minn.
Ellis, G. Gordon, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Ellis, Robert L., 6362 West Sixth St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Ellsworth, Sheridan, County Supt. of Schools, Elkhorn, Wis.
Elmer, Mrs. Marion Short, 20 Belmont Street, Buffalo, N.Y.
Elsbree, Harold M., Prof. of Education, State Teachers Col., New Paltz, N.Y.
Ely, Donald P., State University Teachers College, New Paltz, N.Y.
Endres, Mary P., Supt. of Public Schools, Dist. No. 10, Woodstock, Ill.
Engbretson, William E., 604 West Walnut St., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Engelhardt, Jack E., 617 Emmett St., Battle Creek, Mich.
Engelhardt, N. L., 331 West 250th St., Riverdale, New York, N.Y.
Engels, Bernice, Supv., Elementary Education, Gary, Ind.
English, John W., 26720 North River Park Dr., Inkster, Mich.
Epstein, Bertram, City College of New York, New York, N.Y.
Erdman, Robert L., Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Erickson, Carlton W. H., Audio-visual Center, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Erickson, Harley E., Dept. of Educ., Wisconsin State College, Superior, Wis.
Ersoff, Samuel, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Miami, Miami, Fla.
Ervin, John B., Chairman, Educ. Div., Stowe Teachers College, St. Louis, Mo.
Ervin, William B., 1 Midland Place, Newark, N.J.
Erzinger, John F., 6600 North Campbell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Eskridge, T. J., Jr., Dept. of Educ. & Psych., Newberry College, Newberry, S.C.
Estvan, Frank J., School of Educ., Univ. of Wis., Madison, Wis.
Eugenia Marie, Sister, R.S.M., Mercy College, Detroit, Mich.
Eulalia, Sister, Cathedral Academy, Syracuse, N.Y.

Eurich, Alvin C., 655 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
Evans, Douglas V., Herndon High School, Herndon, Va.
Evans, Evan E., Supt., Hickory Grove-Overland Pk. Schls., Overland Park, Kan.
Evans, J. H., Principal, Oshkosh High School, Oshkosh, Wis.
Evans, John C., Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Ogden, Utah
Evans, Ralph F., Head, Dept. of Educ., Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif.
Evenden, E. S., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Evenson, Warren L., Prin., Central High School, Fargo, N.D.
Everett, LeRoy, 4655 Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Eyman, R. L., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.

Falk, Philip H., Superintendent of Schools, Madison, Wis.
Farber, Nathan, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Farley, H. Kent, Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Ore.
Farley, John A., University of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Farmer, Floyd M., Prin., Wichita High School, Wichita, Kan.
Farnsworth, R. Earl, Principal, Senior High School, Fort Smith, Ark.
Fasan, Walter R., 7736 Sangamon St., Chicago, Ill.
Fattu, Nicholas, 921 Sheridan Drive, Bloomington, Ind.
Fawcett, Harold P., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Fawley, Paul C., Col. of Educ., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Fay, Leo C., School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Fee, Mary, McPherson College, McPherson, Kan.
Feelhaver, Carl T., Supt. of Schools, Ft. Dodge, Iowa
Feingold, S. Norman, Exec. Dir., Jewish Voc. Service, Boston, Mass.
Fell, E. E., Principal, East High School, Youngstown, Ohio
Fellbaum, E. H., Superintendent of Schools, Helena, Mont.
Feller, Dan, 9951-B Robbins Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif.
Feltman, Irene, No. Illinois State Teachers College, DeKalb, Ill.
Ferguson, W. Stewart, 3748 Maplewood Ave., Venice, Calif.
Feroze, Hyat, Kabal Road, Sialkot Cantt, Pakistan
Ferran, Rose M., Dir., Elem. Grades, Public Schools, New Orleans, La.
Ficken, Clarence E., Vice Pres. & Dean, Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio
Fields, Clarence J., Coppin State Teachers College, Baltimore, Md.
Fields, Ralph R., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Fielstra, Clarence, Sch. of Educ., University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Figurel, J. Allen, 2321 Walton Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Finch, F. H., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Finck, Edgar M., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
Findley, Warren G., Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J.
Fink, Stuart D., Prin., Trg. Sch., No. Illinois State Teachers Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Finney, Ernest A., Dean, Claflin College, Orangeburg, S.C.
Fischoff, Ephraim, Dir., B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Berkeley, Calif.
Fish, Allan, Supv. Prin., Oakwood Public Schools, Oakville, Ontario
Fishback, Woodson W., Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.
Fisher, Joseph T., Hastings College, Hastings, Neb.
Fisher, Marie R., Supv. Tests and Meas., Dept. of Educ., St. Paul, Minn.
Fisk, Robert S., Dean, Sch. of Educ., University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
Fitzgerald, Edward J., Superintendent of Schools, Bristol, R.I.
Fitzgerald, James A., Sch. of Educ., Fordham University, New York, N.Y.
Fitzgerald, J. C., Dir., Audio-visual Center, Okla. A. & M. Col., Stillwater, Okla.
Fitzgerald, N. E., Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Fitzpatrick, Julia M., 47 Tower St., Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Flaherty, Rev. J. L., Superintendent, Diocesan Schools, Richmond, Va.
Flamand, Ruth K., 72 Goldenridge Dr., Levittown, Pa.
Flamme, Wayne H., Principal, Junior High School, Antigo, Wis.
Flanagan, John C., Psych. Dept., Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Flanders, Ned A., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Fleck, Henrietta, Chm., Home Econ. Dept., New York Univ., New York, N.Y.
Fleming, C. M., Inst. of Educ., University of London, London, England

Fleming, Ola, Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N.C.
Fleming, Robert S., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Flesher, Marie R., 200 Arps Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Flesher, William R., Sch. of Educ., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Flinton, Edgar W., New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N.Y.
Flores, Vetal, Box 160, Bronte, Tex.
Flores, Mrs. Zella K., Western Montana College of Education, Dillon, Mont.
Flournoy, Frances, Col. of Educ., University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
Flower, G. E., Canadian Educ. Assn., 206 Huron St., Toronto, Ont.
Flynn, Vincent J., Pres., College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
Folger, D. F., Chm., Div. of Tchr. Educ., State Col. for Women, Milledgeville, Ga.
Foote, Lawrence E., Superintendent, Allen County Schls., Fort Wayne, Ind.
Foran, Thomas G., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Force, Thelma, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Forcinelli, Joseph, 2500 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
Ford, Paul L., Illinois Children's Hospital, Chicago, Ill.
Fornaciari, Earl F., 6616 South Normal Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Forner, James A., Walled Lake Consolidated Schls., Walled Lake, Mich.
Forney, E. B., Ginn & Company, 1932 Princeton Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Forrester, Gertrude, 71 Overpeck Ave., Ridgefield Park, N.J.
Foshay, Arthur W., Bur. of Educ. Research, Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio
Fossieck, Theodore H., Principal, Milne School of Practice, Albany, N.Y.
Foster, Christine, Phys. Educ. Dept., Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
Foster, Harry K., State Teachers College, Fredonia, N.Y.
Foster, I. Owen, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Foster, Inez, Asst. Supt., Elem. Div., Public Schools, San Antonio, Tex.
Fougner, Herbert M., Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.
Fowler, Burton P., Prin., Germantown Friends School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fowlkes, John Guy, Dean, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Fox, Rev. Charles, Oratory School, Summit, N.J.
Fox, Robert S., Univ. Elem. Sch., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Fox, William H., Sch. of Educ., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Franklin, J. E., 1602 Cooper St., Commerce, Tex.
Franzen, Carl G. F., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Fraser, Dorothy McClure, City College, New York, N.Y.
Frasier, George Willard, Sch. of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Frazier, James R., Superintendent of Schools, Okmulgee, Okla.
Frederick, Orie I., Western Mich. Col. of Educ., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Freeman, Frank N., Dean Emeritus, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
Freeman, Frank S., Morrill Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Freeman, Kenneth, State Univ. Teachers College, Geneseo, N.Y.
Freeman, M. Herbert, New Jersey State Teachers College, Paterson, N.J.
Freeman, Ruges Richmond, Jr., 4582 Aldine St., St. Louis, Mo.
French, William M., Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.
Fretz, Floyd C., Superintendent of Schools, Bradford, Pa.
Freund, Evelyn, 5954 Guilford, Detroit, Mich.
Frick, Herman L., Dept. of Educ., Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Friedman, Bertha B., Dept. of Educ., Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Fristoe, Dewey, Superintendent of Schools, Flossmoor, Ill.
Fristoe, Wallace H., Principal, Brainard School, Chicago, Ill.
Froelich, Gustav J., Bur. of Inst. Res., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Frost, Norman, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
Frost, S. E., Jr., Dept. of Educ., Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Frutchey, Fred P., Ext. Serv., U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
Frve, C. L., Superintendent of Schools, Huntington, Utah
Fullager, William A., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Fuller, Harvey, Superintendent of Schools, Wethersfield, Conn.
Fullmer, C. E., Principal, Wadsworth Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Fullmer, David C. , Asst. Supt., Catholic Schools, Chicago, Ill.
Futch, Olivia, Dept. of Educ., Furman University, Greenville, S.C.

Gabbard, Hazel F., U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Gabel, O. J., State Teachers College, DeKalb, Ill.
Gaither, F. F., Dir., Tchr. Educ., Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Gale, Ann, Principal, Edison School, Chicago, Ill.
Gallagher, Sister M. Muriel, Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gallen, Albert A., Reading Consult., West Chester Public Schls., West Chester, Pa.
Galloway, O. F., Head, Dept. of Educ., MacMurray Col., Jacksonville, Ill.
Gambrill, Bessie Lee, Dept. of Educ., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Gamelin, F. C., Stud. Couns. Bur., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Gammon, Delore, Asst. Supt. in chg. Elem. Educ., Public Schools, Wichita, Kan.
Garinger, Elmer H., Superintendent of Schools, Charlotte, N.C.
Garland, Grace C., Edison High School, Minneapolis, Minn.
Garlin, R. E., Dept. of Educ., Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Tex.
Garnett, Ray L., Wisconsin State College, River Falls, Wis.
Garrett, Charles G., 2 Ruth Street, Hammond, Ind.
Garrison, Karl C., College of Educ., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Garrison, Noble Lee, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Gastwirth, Paul, Principal, Berriman Junior High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Gates, Arthur I., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Gates, Charles D., East High Annex and School 14, Rochester, N.Y.
Gates, Mrs. Grace W., Supv., Elementary Education, Clarence, N.Y.
Gathman, Arthur, Superintendent of Schools, Frenchburg, Ky.
Gauerke, Warren E., Dept. of Teacher Educ., Emory University, Ga.
Gega, Peter C., 3994 Hillcrest Dr., Los Angeles, Calif.
Gentleman, Mrs. Gregor J., Principal, Whitney School, Chicago, Ill.
Gentry, George H., Supt. of Schls., Pres., Lee Jr. Col., Baytown, Tex.
Gentry, Ira A., Jr., Tennessee A. & I. State University, Nashville, Tenn.
Geoghegan, Sister Barbara, Col. of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Mt. St. Joseph, O.
George, Walter E. C., 6 Fillmore St., Baldwin, N.Y.
Georgesen, Sigrid, Principal, Park Point School, Duluth, Minn.
Georgiades, William, Whittier Union High School Dist., Whittier, Calif.
Gerberich, J. R., Dir., Bur. of Educ. Research, Univ. of Conn., Storrs, Conn.
Gerlach, Vernon, Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minn.
Gerletti, John D., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Gesling, Martha M., Bowling Green State Univ., Bowling Green, Ohio
Getsinger, J. W., Vice-Prin., San Diego Vocational School, San Diego, Calif.
Gholson, G. James, Prin., Fairmont Heights High School, Washington, D.C.
Gibbons, Joseph H., Superintendent of Schools, Stoughton, Mass.
Gibbs, E. Delmar, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.
Gibson, Mrs. Kathryn S., Prairie View A. & M. College, Prairie View, Tex.
Gibson, Mrs. Norma, 902 South Manhattan Place, Los Angeles, Calif.
Gibson, Walter V. B., Principal, Elementary School, East Tallahassee, Ala.
Gignilliat, Arthur M., Dir., Armstrong Evening College, Savannah, Ga.
Gilbert, Floyd O., State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn.
Gilbert, Harry B., Bur. of Child Guidance, New York City Schls., New York, N.Y.
Gilbert, Lee R., Principal, Froebel School, Gary, Ind.
Gilbert, Luther C., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Gill, Bernard I., Librarian, State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minn.
Gilland, Thomas M., Dir. of Trg., State Teachers College, California, Pa.
Gillaspie, Howard H., Westfield Union Free High School, Westfield, Wis.
Gillet, Harry O., 7401 Luella Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Gillham, Vera M., Principal, Horace Mann School, Minneapolis, Minn.
Ginsburg, Mrs. Sadie D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Gjerde, Clayton M., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Glad, Amos W., Superintendent of Schools, Pratt, Kan.
Glasow, Ogden L., Western Illinois State College, Macomb, Ill.
Glenn, J. Curtis, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Glock, Marvin D., Bur. of Educ. Research, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Gluesing, Eugene C., Bagley High School, Bagley, Minn.
Godfrey, Mary E., State Board of Education, Richmond, Va.
Godfrey, Maurice L., 73 Barrington Ave., Toronto, Ont.

Godfrey, Rollin E., 504 East Lake Dr., Greensboro, N.C.
Goff, Mrs. Arnold E., Forest Grove, Ore.
Goldberg, Nathan, 75-47 196th Street, Flushing, N.Y.
Goldhammer, Keith, 747 Marion St., Palo Alto, Calif.
Gomon, Neal S., Nebraska State Teachers College, Peru, Neb.
Good, Carter V., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Good, Warren R., Prin., Alfred I. DuPont Elem. School, Wilmington, Del.
Goodlad, John I., Emory University, Emory, Ga.
Goodside, Samuel, Asst. Supv., Ramaz School, New York, N.Y.
Goodwill, Glen T., Superintendent, City School District, Monterey, Calif.
Goodykoontz, Bess, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Goossen, Carl V., Prin., Univ. Elem. Sch., Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Gordon, Ira J., Inst. for Child Study, Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Gordon, Jerome, 6659 Belmar Avenue, Reseda, Calif.
Gordon, Ted, 317 North Lucerne, Los Angeles, Calif.
Gorman, Frank H., University of Omaha, Omaha, Neb.
Gorman, William J., Registrar, St. John's Prep. School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Gould, George, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gourley, David, Superintendent of Schools, Salt Lake City, Utah
Graber, Eldon W., Head, Dept. of Educ., Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.
Graber, Ralph E., Junior High School, Lawrence, Kan.
Grady, Joseph E., St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.
Graetz, Ralph, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
Graff, George E., Supt., Rural Educ., State Dept. of Educ., Rockville, Conn.
Graff, Orin B., Dept. of Sch. Adm. & Supv., Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn.
Graham, Mrs. Mary C., Prin., Lafayette High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Graham, Mattie, Supv., Elem. Educ., Troy, N.Y.
Graham, Willis Gayer, Alaska Native Service, Shungnak, Alaska
Grams, Armin, Dept. of Educ., DePaul University, Chicago, Ill.
Gran, John M., Principal, Humboldt High School, St. Paul, Minn.
Grant, Edward H., Northern New Mexico Normal School, El Rito, N.M.
Grant, Eugene B., State Teachers College, DeKalb, Ill.
Grant, Lester J., Superintendent of Schools, Decatur, Ill.
Granzow, Kent R., 1919 South Grant, Denver, Colo.
Grau, Mary L., Supv., Elementary Educ., Montgomery County, Towson, Md.
Grau, R. T., Director of Curriculum, Public Schools, Clinton, Iowa
Graves, Elizabeth K., Haviland Court, Stamford, Conn.
Graves, Linwood D., Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.
Gray, Archie L., University Station, Grand Forks, N.D.
* Gray, William S., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Graybeal, Lyman B., Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.
Green, G. Leland, Chm., Div. of Educ., Berry College, Mount Berry, Ga.
Green, Harold W., Utah School for the Blind, Ogden, Utah
Greenberg, Joseph, Principal, Public School 238, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Greene, Harry A., Ext. Div., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Greene, Mrs. Minnie S., Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde, Tex.
Greenfield, Curtis O., Principal, Percy L. Julian School, Phoenix, Ariz.
Greenwood, Roy, Broome County Technical Institute, Binghampton, N.Y.
Gregg, Russell T., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Gribble, S. C., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Grieder, Calvin, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Griffin, Lee H., Ginn and Company, Chicago, Ill.
Griffin, Margaret T., Principal, Warner Elementary School, Springfield, Mass.
* Griffin, Margery M., 5778 DeGiverville, St. Louis, Mo.
Griffith, Coleman R., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Griffiths, Daniel E., New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N.Y.
Griggs, Oscar C., Asst. Supt., Emeritus, Public Schools, Tulsa, Okla.
Grim, Paul R., Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Grimes, Joseph, Jr., No. 1 Stevenson Rd., Hewleh, L.I., N.Y.
Grissinger, James A., Chm., Dept. of Speech, Otterbein Col., Westerville, Ohio
Grizzard, Mabel Youree, 711 West Main, Waxahachie, Tex.

* Grizzell, E. D., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Groenke, Paul H., Prin., Peace Lutheran School, Faribault, Minn.
Groesbeck, Lue, State Dept. of Instruction, Salt Lake City, Utah
Groff, Frank E., Supv. Prin., North Wales Sch. Dist., North Wales, Pa.
Gross, Marie L., Principal, Central School, Evanston, Ill.
Gross, Richard Edmund, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Gross, Robert Dean, 3243 Holly Park Dr., Inglewood, Calif.
Grossnickle, Foster E., State Teachers College, Jersey City, N.J.
Grout, W. Stuart, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Gruber, Frederick C., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gruchy, Gregoria A., Superintendent of Schools, Wesson, Miss.
Gruenberg, Benjamin C., 100 Central Park South, New York, N.Y.
Grundemann, Norma M., 3617 North 13th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Guess, George T., Principal, Picadome Elementary School, Lexington, Ky.
Gumm, Boyce L., Box 103, Athens, W.Va.
Gunn, Henry M., Supt. of Schools, Palo Alto, Calif.
Gunn, Mary Agnella, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Guss, Carolyn, Audio-visual Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Gussner, William S., Superintendent of Schools, Jamestown, N.D.
Gustin, Margaret, Elem. Supv., State Dept. of Educ., Unionville, Conn.
Guy, George Vance, Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N.C.
Gwynn, J. Minor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Haaby, Lawrence O., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Haas, Raoul R., Dir., No. Side Branch, Chicago Tchrs. Col., Chicago, Ill.
Hackenberg, J. L., Superintendent of Schools, Shamokin, Pa.
Hadley, J. H., Superintendent of Schools, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Hadley, S. Trevor, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa.
Haefner, Alfred E., Dean, Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa
Hager, Cyril F., Air War College, MAFB, Montgomery, Ala.
Hager, Walter E., President, Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D.C.
Hagerman, Helen L., State Univ. College for Teachers, Buffalo, N.Y.
Haggerty, Helen Ruth, Adj. Gen'ls. Office, Dept. of the Army, Washington, D.C.
Haggerty, William J., State Teachers College, New Paltz, N.Y.
Hagman, Harlan L., Dean, Col. of Educ., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Hahn, Albert R., Clinical Psychol., Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Haight, Wilbur T., Guidance Counselor, Milford High School, Milford, Del.
Haimbach, David, 4738 Kendall Dr., Corpus Christi, Tex.
Haines, Andrew S., Principal, Olney High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Halberg, Anna D., Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D.C.
Haley, Gerald J., Principal, Medill Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Hall, James A., Superintendent of Schools, Port Washington, N.Y.
Hall, Katherine H., San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.
Hall, M. E., Sch. of Music, Northern Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
Hall, Robert King, Prof. of Educ., Tchrs. Col., Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Hall, Roy M., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Hall, Ruel, County Superintendent of Schools, Kankakee, Ill.
Hall, William F., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Hall, William Frank, Dir., Child Study Serv., Elem. Dist. 1, Phoenix, Ariz.
Hamalainen, Arthur E., Principal, Plandome Road School, Manhasset, N.Y.
Hamilton, Mrs. Charles W., Jr., Dept. of Educ., Creighton Univ., Omaha, Neb.
Hamilton, Holmes, Acting Supt. of Schools, Forest Park, Ill.
Hamilton, Homer H., P.O. Box 9222, Dallas, Tex.
Hamlin, Herbert M., Dept. of Agric. Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Hammock, Robert C., University of Alabama, University, Ala.
Hand, Harold C., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Hanitchak, John J., Guild House, 100 Main St., Saranac Lake, N.Y.
Hanna, Lavone A., San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Hanna, Paul R., Dept. of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Hansen, Carl W., Teachers College, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Hansen, Einar A., Col. of Educ., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio

Hansen, G. G., Supt., Huntley Project Schools, Worden, Mont.
Hansen, Helge E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Hansen, R. G., Asst. Supt., Elem. Educ., Public Schools, St. Paul, Minn.
Hansen, W. C., President, Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point, Wis.
Hanson, E. H., Superintendent of Schools, Rock Island, Ill.
Hanson, Gordon C., University of Wichita, Wichita, Kan.
Hanson, John W., Univ. High School, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Hao, Peter T. Y., 165 East 88th St., New York, N.Y.
Harap, Henry, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
Harbaugh, John W., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Harbin, Calvin E., Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kan.
Harbo, L. S., Superintendent of Schools, Austin, Minn.
Hardesty, Cecil D., Supt. of County Schools, San Diego, Calif.
Hardgrove, Mrs. Clarence E., Northern Ill. State Teachers Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Hare, Dudley, Superintendent of Schools, Ossining, N.Y.
Hare, H. Frank, Dist. Superintendent of Schools, Phoenixville, Pa.
Harkins, C. L., Superintendent, Madison Elem. Schools, Phoenix, Ariz.
Harlow, James G., Univ. College, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Harman, Matilda E., Principal, Lincoln School, Spring Valley, Ill.
* Harney, Julia C., 302 Pavonia Ave., Jersey City, N.J.
Harney, Paul J., University of San Francisco, San Francisco, Calif.
Harney, Thomas E., Superintendent of Schools, Dunkirk, N.Y.
Harnly, Paul W., Asst. Supt. in chg. Sec. Educ., Public Schools, Wichita, Kan.
Harper, George Leslie, Supv. Prin., Person County High School, Roxbard, N.C.
Harrington, E. Ross, Dir. of Educ., Richland Sch. Dist., Shafter, Calif.
Harrington, Johns H., Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Harris, Albert J., Dir., Educ. Clinic, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Harris, Ben M., Lafayette School, Lafayette, Calif.
Harris, Chester W., Sch. of Educ., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Harris, Dale B., Inst. of Child Welfare, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Harris, Fred Earl, Col. of Educ., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
Harris, Lester D., Prin., Medford Senior High School, Medford, Ore.
Harris, Paul, Dir. of Art Educ., City Schools, Waukegan, Ill.
Harris, Raymond P., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.
Harris, Ruby Dean, Agric. Extension Serv., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Harris, Theodore L., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Harris, Wylie V., Supt., Westwood View School, Kansas City, Kan.
Harrison, George R., Head, Dept. of Elem. Educ., Bradley Univ., Peoria, Ill.
Harry, David P., Jr., Grad. Sch. Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Harshbarger, Jake, U.S. Naval Admin. Unit, Box 6, Navy No. 935, FPO, San Francisco, Calif.
Harshman, Floyd E., Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio
Hartman, A. L., Principal, Edgemont and Watchung Schls., Upper Montclair, N.J.
Hartsfield, Loy, Dept. of Educ., University of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Hartshorn, Herbert E., Dir., Elem. Educ., Edina-Morningside Sch., Minneapolis, Minn.
Hartstein, Jacob I., Dean, Grad. Sch., Long Island University, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Hartung, Maurice L., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Harvey, A. D., Asst. Supt. of Schools, Kingsville, Tex.
Haskew, Laurence D., Col. of Educ., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Hass, C. Glen, Assoc. Supt., Arlington County Public Schls., Arlington, Va.
Hatch, Robert C., Supv., State Dept. of Education, Montgomery, Ala.
Hatchett, Ethel L., Dept. of Educ., Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Tex.
Hatfill, H. A., Supt. of Schools, Paris, Ill.
Haupt, George W., State Teachers College, Glassboro, N.J.
Hauser, L. J., Superintendent of Schools, Dist. No. 96, Riverside, Ill.
Havighurst, Robert J., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Hawes, Homer H., Head, Dept. of Educ., Park College, Parkville, Mo.
Hawley, Ray C., Superintendent of County Schools, Ottawa, Ill.
Haws, Nina, Principal, Riverside Elementary School, Wichita, Kan.
Hay, Louis, 140 Clarkson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Howard, John A., Pres., Palos Verdes College, Rolling Hills, Calif.
Howd, M. Curtis, Principal, Burris Lab. School, Muncie, Ind.
Howe, Henry W., Dept. of History and Pol. Sci., Alma College, Alma, Mich.
Howe, Joseph W., Superintendent of Schools, Burlington, N.J.
Howe, Walter A., Secy. of Educ., S.W. Union Conf., S.D.A., Fort Worth, Tex.
Hoyt, Cyril J., Bur. of Educ. Res., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Hoyt, Guy M., Assoc. Supt., Los Angeles City Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Hubbard, Frank W., Dir. of Research, National Educ. Assn., Washington, D.C.
Hubbard, O. S., County Superintendent of Schools, San Jose, Calif.
Hucksoll, William J., 3510 Woodlea Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Hudelson, Earl, Col. of Educ., West Virginia Univ., Morgantown, W.Va.
Huebner, Mildred H., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Huelsman, Charles B., Jr., 120 East Chestnut St., Oxford, Ohio
Hufford, G. N., Superintendent of Schools, Joliet, Ill.
Hufziger, Otto C., 290 Liberty St., Terrace 11, Pontiac, Mich.
Huggett, Albert J. *Deceased.*
Hughes, Marie M., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Hughes, McDonald, Principal, Industrial High School, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Hughes, R. O., 5517 Beverly Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Hughes, Vergil H., Col. of Educ., University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
Hughson, Arthur, 470 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Hulme, Amos B., County Supt. of Schools, Paris, Idaho
Hult, Esther, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Hummel, Edward J., Deputy Supt. of Schools, Beverly Hills, Calif.
Hunt, Andrew W., Chairman, Dept. of Educ., McMurry College, Abilene, Tex.
Hunt, Mrs. Dorothy, Box 71, Brady, Texas
Hunt, Jacob T., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Hunt, Margaret E., Prim. Supv., Vanderburgh County Schls., Evansville, Ind.
Hunter, Eugenia, Women's College, Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro, N.C.
Hunter, James J., Jr., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Hunter, Lavinia, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Ky.
Hunter, Mrs. L. L., Curr. Cons., Wichita Pub. Schls., Wichita, Kan.
Hunter, Robert W., Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
* Huntington, Albert H., 736 Fairview Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.
Huntington, Elizabeth A., 151 Vose Ave., South Orange, N.J.
Hunton, Mrs. E. L., Principal, B. K. Bruce School, Washington, D.C.
Hupp, James L., West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W.Va.
Hurlburt, Allan S., State Dept. of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N.C.
Hurst, Theodore W., 5341 W. Cullom, Chicago, Ill.
Huss, Francis G., Dir., Lansdale Vocational School, Lansdale, Pa.
Husted, Inez M., Dir., Special Educ., Luzerne County, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Hutchins, Clayton D., United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Hutchins, Margaret, Head, Dept. of H.E., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Hutchison, James M., 4231 West Fifty-ninth St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Hutson, P. W., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Hyde, Eva Louise, Principal, Collegio Bennett, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Hyder, Gretchen, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tenn.

Inabnit, Darrell James, 32 Sherman Terrace, Madison, Wis.
Ingebritson, Kasper I., Humboldt State College, Arcata, Calif.
Ingersoll, George S., Math. Dept., Mira Costa High Sch., Manhattan Beach, Calif.
Ingles, Edwin T., Vice Pres., Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.
Irene, Elizabeth, Sister, Dean, Sacred Heart Tchr. Trg. School, Groton, Mass.
Irish, Mrs. Betty H., Santa Barbara Col., Univ. of Calif., Santa Barbara, Calif.
Irving, J. Lee, Bluefield State College, Bluefield, W.Va.
Irwin, Forrest A., President, State Teachers College, Jersey City, N.J.
Isley, Thurston, William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.
Ivins, George H., Dept. of Educ., Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill.

Jackman, Duane A., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Jackson, Frank M., Supt., Tom Green County Schools, San Angelo, Tex.

Jackson, Stanley E., 415 You Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
Jacob, Philip E., Dir., Summer School, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Jacobs, Ralph L., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Jacobs, Robert, U.S.A. Operations Mission to Ethiopia, c/o 806 Connecticut Ave.,
    N.W., Washington 25, D.C.
Jacobson, Paul B., Dean, Sch. of Educ., University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
Jacoby, I. S., New Zealand Council for Educ. Res., Wellington, New Zealand
Jaeger, Alan W., 1193 East Howard St., Pasadena, Calif.
James, Bro. Adelbert, F.S.C., Head, Educ. Dept., Manhattan Col., New York, N.Y.
James, Albert T., Livingston College, Salisbury, N.C.
James, Mrs. Bernice O., Central High School, Galveston, Tex.
James, Carl A., Superintendent of Schools, Concordia, Kan.
James, Preston E., Chm., Dept. of Geog., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
James, Virginia White, University of Alabama, University, Ala.
James, W. Raymond, State Teachers College, Plattsburgh, N.Y.
Jamrich, John X., 1304 A Ave., N.E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Jansen, William, Superintendent, New York City Schools, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Jarman, B. H., George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
Jelinek, Frances, 3920 North Ridgefield Circle, Milwaukee, Wis.
Jelinek, James J., Sch. of Educ., Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz.
Jemison, Margaret, Emory University, Emory, Ga.
Jenkins, Martin D., President, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.
Jenkins, Russell L., Dept. of English, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Jenkins, T. C., Dir., Elem. Educ., Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
Jenness, Samuel M., Superintendent, Carroll County Schls., Westminster, Md.
Jensen, G. E., Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa
Jensen, Grant W., Principal, Shafter High School, Shafter, Calif.
Jensen, Louis B., 12 Hamilton Place, Garden City, N.Y.
Jensen, Mrs. Winifred Ellis, Bowling Green State Univ., Bowling Green, Ohio
Jenson, Howard A., Superintendent of Schools, Litchfield, Minn.
Jenson, T. J., Superintendent of Schools, Shorewood, Wis.
Jessee, Mrs. Mabel C., Beattyville, Ky.
Jex, Frank B., Dept. of Educ. Psych., Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Johnshoy, Howard G., 1616 Gilbert St., Muncie, Ind.
Johnson, B. Lamar, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Johnson, Carl E., 420 N. Elmhurst Ave., Mt. Prospect, Ill.
Johnson, Charles E., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Johnson, Charles W., Teachers College, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Johnson, DeWayne B., 740 Walker Ave., Ashland, Ore.
Johnson, Dorothy C., 3416 Wall Ave., Richmond, Calif.
Johnson, Douglas Andrew, 1414 East 59th St., Chicago, Ill.
Johnson, Eleanor M., American Education Publications, Middletown, Conn.
Johnson, Eric H., Illinois Curric. Program, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Johnson, G. Orville, Sch. of Educ., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Johnson, Gladys V., 305 Jensen Apt., Great Falls, Mont.
Johnson, H. O., Livonia Twp. School District, Plymouth, Mich.
Johnson, Harry C., Duluth Branch, Univ. of Minnesota, Duluth, Minn.
Johnson, Loaz W., Dir. of Educ., Butte County Schools, Oroville, Calif.
Johnson, Lois V., Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Johnson, Mrs. Marjorie S., Supv., Read. Clinic, Lab. Sch., Philadelphia, Pa.
Johnson, Mary S., 423 East Harris, Cadillac, Mich.
Johnson, Palmer O., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Johnson, Paul L., Pres., Jacksonville Jr. Col., Jacksonville, Fla.
Johnson, Ray W., Supt., Riverside County Schools, Riverside, Calif.
Johnson, Robert K., 913 Nelbar St., Middletown, Ohio
Johnson, Robert L., Curric. Coord., Public Schools, New Richmond, Wis.
Johnson, Robert W., Principal, Washington Parish High School, Franklinton, La.
Johnson, Roberta A. E., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
* Johnson, Roy Ivan, Sch. of Educ., University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Johnson, Stella M., Principal, Park Manor School, Chicago, Ill.
Johnson, Walter F., Dept. of Guid. & Couns., Mich. State Col., E. Lansing, Mich.

Johnston, Aaron Montgomery, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Johnston, Edgar G., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Johnston, Lemuel R., Prin., Clifford J. Scott H.S., East Orange, N.J.
Johnston, Lillian B., Elem. Supv., State Dept. of Educ., Phoenix, Ariz.
Johnston, Mildred R., State Teachers College, Jacksonville, Ala.
Johnston, Ruth V., 125 Owre Hall, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Joll, Leonard W., State Department of Education, Hartford, Conn.
Jonas, Richard O., University of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Jonas, Russell E., President, Black Hills Teachers College, Spearfish, S.D.
Jones, A. Quinn, 1013 N.W. Seventh Ave., Gainesville, Fla.
Jones, Aaron E., President, Carbon College, Price, Utah
* Jones, Arthur J., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Jones, C. E., Superintendent, Public Schools, Beloit, Wis.
Jones, C. H., Jr., Superintendent of Schools, Nevada, Mo.
Jones, Dilys M., 30 Waller St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Jones, Elvet Glyn, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
* Jones, Mrs. E. P., Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Jones, Harold E., Dir., Inst. of Child Wel., Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
Jones, Howard R., School of Educ., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Jones, James Joseph, Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz.
Jones, Kenneth G., Oswego State Teachers College, Oswego, N.Y.
Jones, Mrs. Lillian W., 159-00 Riverside Drive, West, New York, N.Y.
Jones, Lloyd M., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Jones, Lyman L., Southeastern College, Hammond, La.
Jones, Richard N., Agr. Eng. Dept., Pa. State Col., State College, Pa.
Jones, Vernon, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
Jones, Vyron Lloyd, Principal, Fontanet High School, Fontanet, Ind.
Jones, W. Mitchell, Dean of Men, West Texas State College, Canyon, Tex.
Jones, Wendell P., 848 Pierce St., Washington, D.C.
Jordan, A. B., Central High School, St. Louis, Mo.
Jordan, Floyd, Co-ord. of Atlanta Area Tchr. Educ. Serv., Emory Univ., Ga.
Jordan, Lawrence V., West Virginia State College, Institute, W.Va.
Joseph Loretto, Sister, Col. of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio
Judge, Virgil H., Superintendent of Schools, Matoon, Ill.
Julstrom, Eva, 7647 Colfax Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Jung, Christian, Sch. of Educ., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Junge, Charlotte W., College of Educ., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Junge, Ruby M., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Justman, Joseph, Bur. of Research, Board of Educ., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Kaar, Mrs. Galeta M., Principal, Peabody Elementary School, Chicago, Ill.
Kaemmerlen, John T., Superintendent of Schools, Hudson, N.Y.
Kalin, E. S., Dir., Isidore Newman School, New Orleans, La.
Kallen, H. M., 66 West Twelfth St., New York, N.Y.
Kalupa, Mrs. Marie, 2527 South Thirteenth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Kandyba, Bernard S., 2536 East 83rd St., Chicago, Ill.
Kaplan, Louis, Univ. Col., University of Southern Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Kardatzke, Carl, Anderson College, Anderson, Ind.
Karrel, Oscar, Boys' Dept., Lord and Taylor, New York, N.Y.
Kasdon, Lawrence, 1431½ Laveta Terrace, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kata, Joseph J., Principal, Red Bank Valley High School, New Bethlehem, Pa.
Katz, Melvyn Myron, 2094 Smith Street, Merrick, Long Island, N.Y.
Kauffman, Merle M., Dir. of Curric., Public Schools, Peoria, Ill.
Kaufman, Jennie M., County Supt. of Schls., Grand Haven, Mich.
Kauth, William M., Dept. of Math., Fordson High School, Dearborn, Mich.
Kavanaugh, J. Keith, 157 Birch St., Park Forest, Ill.
Kawin, Ethel, Plaisance Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Kearney, Leo I., Fordham University, New York, N.Y.
Kearney, Nolan C., Asst. Supt., Res. & Curric., Dept. of Educa., St. Paul, Minn.
Keefauver, Lloyd C., Dist. Supt., Gettysburg Jt. Sch. System, Gettysburg, Pa.
Keenan, Robert C., Dist. Superintendent, Elem. Schools, Chicago, Ill.

Keener, Edward E., 1622 Oak Park Ave., Berwyn, Ill.
* Keller, Franklin J., Principal, Metropolitan Voc. High Sch., New York, N.Y.
Keller, Fred L., Tarkio College, Tarkio, Mo.
Keller, Raymond E., Superintendent of Schools, Wyoming, Iowa
Keller, Robert J., Educ. Research Office, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Kelley, Beaman, Dir. of Inst., Harnett County Schools, Lillington, N.C.
Kelley, Claude, North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
Kelley, Janet A., Dept. of Educ., City College, New York, N.Y.
Kelley, Victor H., University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
Kellogg, E. G., Supt. of Schools, West Allis, Wis.
Kelly, Edward J., Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.
Kelly, Mrs. Erma P., Principal, Capital Hill School, Little Rock, Ark.
Kelsey, Roger R., Registrar, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kan.
Kemp, Edward L., Sch. of Educ., New York University, New York, N.Y.
Kemp, Ruth L., 159 Rhode Island Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C.
Kennard, Andrew J., Texas State University, Houston, Tex.
Kephart, John E., Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.
Keppel, Francis, Dean, Grad. Sch. of Educ., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Kerbow, A. L., University of Houston, Houston, Tex.
Kerr, Everett F., Superintendent of Elem. Schools, Blue Island, Ill.
Kerstetter, Leona M., Hunter College, New York, N.Y.
Kesselring, Ralph, Principal, Anglo-Chinese School, Ipoh, Malaya
Kettelkamp, Gilbert C., College of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Keucher, Rev. Werner G., Pres., Baptist Missionary Train. Sch., Chicago, Ill.
Kiely, Margaret, Dean, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Kies, Michael S., Supt. of County Schools, Milwaukee, Wis.
Kilbourn, Robert W., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
* Kilpatrick, William H., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Kincer, Charles L., Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain, Ky.
Kindred, Leslie W., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
King, John R., East Bakersfield High School, Bakersfield, Calif.
King, Kenneth E., 1136 South Swall Dr., Los Angeles, Calif.
King, Kermit C., Head, Dept. of Sec. Educ., A. & I. State Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
King, Lloyd W., Exec. Secy., Amer. Textbook Publ. Inst., New York, N.Y.
King, Thomas C., Dean, Col. of Educ. & Nurs., Univ. of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
Kingham, Harry W., Prin., Senior High School and Jr. College, Burlington, Iowa
Kingston, Albert James, Jr., A. & M. College of Texas, College Station, Tex.
Kinsella, John J., Sch. of Educ., New York University, New York, N.Y.
Kinsman, Kephas Albert, Long Beach State Col., Long Beach, Calif.
Kirch, Mrs. Minnie B., 2553 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Kirk, H. H., Superintendent of Schools, Fargo, N.D.
Kirk, Samuel A., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Kirkland, J. Bryant, Sch. of Educ., North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N.C.
Kirkpatrick, J. E., University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.
Kirkpatrick, Lawrence A., New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, N.M.
Klausmeier, Herbert J., School of Educ., Univ. of Wis., Madison, Wis.
Kleckner, Joseph R., Supt. New Castle Special School Dist., New Castle, Del.
Kline, Barton L., Superintendent of Schools, Beatrice, Neb.
Klopfer, Leopold E., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Knapp, M. L., Superintendent of Schools, Michigan City, Ind.
Knight, Reginald R., Prin., Roosevelt Junior High School, Bellflower, Calif.
Knoblauch, A. L., Dir., Univ. Ext. & Summer Sess., Univ. of Conn., Storrs, Conn.
Knower, Franklin H., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Knox, J. H., Superintendent, City Schools, Salisbury, N.C.
Knox, William F., Central Missouri State Teachers College, Warrensburg, Mo.
Knuti, Leo L., Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont.
Koch, H. C., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Koch, Helen L., 1374 East Fifty-seventh Street, Chicago, Ill.
Koch, Wayne S., University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.
Koehler, Earl L., Principal, Walsh School, Naperville, Ill.
Koehler, Susanne M., Dept. of Educ., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

Koehring, Dorothy, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Koerber, Walter F., Jarvis School for Boys, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Kohs, Samuel C., 1005 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
Koos, Leonard V., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Kopel, David, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Korb, O. J., Superintendent of Schools, East Cleveland, Ohio
Korntheuer, G. A., Concordia High School, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Kough, Blachford, 1003 North Leavitt Street, Chicago, Ill.
Koy, Arnold C., Principal, Jackson School, Waukegan, Ill.
Kozak, Andrew V., Concord College, Athens, W.Va.
Kozlowski, Leokadya J., 2201 West North Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Kraft, Milton Edward, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Kraus, Howard F., Principal, Louis Barrett School, Belmont, Calif.
Krautle, Hilda E., 3599 Werk Road, Cincinnati, Ohio
Kravetz, Nathan, 438 North Curson Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Kreitlow, Burton W., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Kress, Roy A., Jr., 101 Kirkwood Rd., Gibbsboro, N.J.
Krueger, Lawrence, Supt., Pittsfield Sch. Dist. No. 9, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Krug, Edward, Sch. of Educ., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Krug, Helen Esther, Defiance College, Defiance, Ohio
Krumboltz, Mrs. Helen B., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Kruse, Samuel Andrew, State Teachers College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Kubik, Edmund J., Principal, Owen School, Chicago, Ill.
Kuehner, Kenneth G., Coker College, Hartsville, S.C.
Kuhnen, Mrs. Mildred, 2106 Park Ave., Chico, Calif.
Kulp, A. M., Supt., Montgomery County Schools, Norristown, Pa.
Kurtz, John J., Inst. for Child Study, Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Kutz, Frederick B., Principal, Newark High School, Newark, Del.
Kutz, R. M., Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
Kvaraceus, W. C., Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Kyle, C. J. M., Div. Supt. of Schools, Orange County, Orange, Va.
Kyte, George C., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

LaBrant, Lou, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Lackey, Guy A., Sch. of Educ., Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.
Lafferty, Charles W., Superintendent of Schools, Atchison, Kan.
Lafferty, H. M., East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce, Tex.
LaForce, Charles L., Prin., Ft. Dearborn Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Laidlaw, John, Laidlaw Brothers, Chicago, Ill.
Lambert, Hazel M., Arkansas Teachers College, Conway, Ark.
Lampkin, Richard H., State University Col. for Teachers, Buffalo, N.Y.
Lancaster, Christine, Keene Teachers College, Keene, N.H.
Landskov, N. L., Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg, Miss.
Lane, Mrs. Elizabeth M. H., R.R. 9, Box 665, Dayton, Ohio
Lane, Frank T., State Teachers College, Brockport, N.Y.
Lane, John J., Principal, Coolidge Junior High School, Natick, Mass.
Lange, Phil C., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Langenbach, Louise, Government Center, c/o Co. Supt. of Schls., Placerville, Calif.
Langeveld, M. J., Dir., Educ. Inst., State's University, Utrecht, Holland
Langford, James A., Col. of Educ., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
Langston, R. G., Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lann, Frank R., 1245 Seminary Ave., Oakland, Calif.
Lant, Kenneth A., Principal, Jericho School, Jericho, N.Y.
Lanz, Anna D., Prin., Burbank Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Lapham, P. C., Superintendent of Schools, Charles City, Iowa
Laramy, William J., Principal, Haverford Jr. High School, Havertown, Pa.
Larsen, Arthur Hoff, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Larson, Clint, Delta, Utah
Larson, Ira E., Principal, Osage High School, Osage, Iowa
Larson, Irene M., Board of Education Office, Green Bay, Wis.
Larson, L. C., Dir., Audio-visual Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Larson, R. H., Dir. of Indian Educ., State Dept. of Educ., St. Paul, Minn.
Larson, Rolf W., Sch. of Educ., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Lass, Abraham H., Principal, New Utrecht High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Lassanske, Paul A., 35 W. 26th St., Bayonne, N.J.
Laub, Norman A., Prin., Junior and Senior High School, Northampton, Pa.
Lauby, Cecilia J., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Laughlin, Butler, 7401 Bennett Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Laughlin, Hugh D., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Lauria, Joseph L., 13601 Sherman Way, Van Nuys, Calif.
Laurier, Blaise V., 1145 ouest, rue Saint-Viateur, Montreal, Quebec
Law, Reuben D., L.D.S., College of Hawaii, Laie, Oahu, Hawaii
Lawhead, Victor B., Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
Lawrence, Clayton G., Dir., Tchr. Educ., Marion College, Marion, Ind.
Lawrence, Raymond W., 614 East Wooster St., Bowling Green, Ohio
Lawrence, R. J., Supt., Bullock County Bd. of Educ., Union Springs, Ala.
Lawrence, Richard E., Northern Illinois State Tchrs. College, DeKalb, Ill.
Lawrence, W. A., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
Lawson, Burtis Carl, Dept. of Educ., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
Lazar, May, Bur. of Research, Board of Educ., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Leaf, Curtis T., University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa
Leagans, John Paul, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Leahy, Dorothy M., Dept. of H.E., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lear, Milton John, Prin., Children's Corner, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.
Leavell, Ullin W., Dept. of Educ., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
Leavitt, Howard B., Northern Illinois State Tchrs. College, DeKalb, Ill.
Leavitt, Jerome, Portland State College, Portland, Ore.
Leddy, Mrs. Angele R., 90-12 143rd Street, Jamaica, N.Y.
Lee, Charles A., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Lee, Floyd, Principal, Wheeler Elementary School, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Lee, Harold Fletcher, Dept. of Educ., Lincoln Univ., Jefferson City, Mo.
Lee, Howard D., Principal, Atwater School, Shorewood, Wis.
Lee, John J., Dean, Col. of Educ., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Lee, Roy, 509 West Moultrie St., Winnsboro, S.C.
Leese, Joseph, State College for Teachers, Albany, N.Y.
Lefever, D. W., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lefkowitz, Abraham, Prin., Samuel J. Tilden High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Leggett, Stanton, Educational Consultant, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Lehman, Harvey C., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Leichtweis, Charles F., University of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Leiman, Harold I., Prin., Hebrew Inst. of Long Island, Far Rockaway, N.Y.
Leister, Leroy L., Willimantic State Teachers College, Willimantic, Conn.
Lemmon, Claude C., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Lennon, Lawrence J., Head, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Scranton, Scranton, Pa.
Lessenberry, D. D., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Letton, Mildred C., Lab. School, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Levine, M., Principal, Public School 111, Long Island City, New York, N.Y.
Levit, Martin, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
Levy, Carrie B., 1369 East Hyde Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Lewis, Carleton Kenneth, Box 443, Route 1, Annandale, Va.
Lewis, Dwight Paul, General Elem. Consultant, County Schools, Riverside, Calif.
Lewis, Elizabeth V., Dept. of Educ., Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Ala.
Lewis, Maurice S., 325 East 15th St., Tempe, Ariz.
Lewis, Mrs. M. E., Head, Dept. of Educ., Mary Allen College, Crockett, Tex.
Lichtenberger, J. F., Principal, Wenonah School, Minneapolis, Minn.
Lifton, Eli, Principal Public School 2, Brooklyn, N.Y.
* Lincoln, Edward A., Thompson Street, Halifax, Mass.
Lindsay, James Armour, 1127 Delynn Way, San Jose, Calif.
Lindvall, C. Mauritz, Sch. of Educ., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lino, Frank D., Principal, Volta School, Chicago, Ill.
Linthicum, J. B., Dir. of Instr., Albuquerque Public Schls., Albuquerque, N.M.
Lipsky, Celia, Asst. Prin., John Ericsson Junior High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Little, Mrs. Evelyn Steel, Mills College, Oakland, Calif.
Little, Evert T., President, Jimma Junior A. & M. Col., Jimma, Ethiopia, Africa
Little, Lawrence C., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Littlefield, Lucille J., State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa.
Littlepage, H. S., Superintendent of Schools, Carlinville, Ill.
Livingood, F. G., Dept. of Educ., Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
Livingston, Thomas B., Box 4060, Texas Tech. College, Lubbock, Tex.
Lobaugh, Dean, Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Eugene, Ore.
Lodeski, Frank J., Principal, Mulligan Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Loeffler, Roland, Modesto High School, Modesto, Calif.
Loew, C. C., Superintendent of Schools, Urbana, Ill.
Lofton, Mrs. Margaret Lawrence, 923 Maple Ave., Norfolk, Va.
Logan, Jack M., Superintendent of Schools, Waterloo, Iowa
Lohmann, Victor Louis, Dir., Psycho-Educ. Clinic, State Tchrs. Col., St. Cloud,
    Minn.
Lomax, Paul S., Ch., Dept. of Bus. Educ., New York Univ., New York, N.Y.
London, Jack, Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Long, Charles M., Dept. of Educ., Penn. State College, State College, Pa.
Long, Isabelle, 4343 Harriet Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Longbotham, G. Thomas, 120 South Mill St., Merrill, Wis.
Longstreet, R. J., Dept. of Educ., Stetson Univ., De Land, Fla.
Lonsdale, Mrs. Maxine de Lappe, 3735 Y St., Sacramento, Calif.
Lonsdale, Richard C., Sch. of Educ., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Loomis, Arthur K., Educ. Adv., Hq. FEC, APO 500, San Francisco, Calif.
Looney, William F., Pres., Boston Teachers College, Boston, Mass.
Loop, Alfred B., 2619 Franklin St., Bellingham, Wash.
Loree, M. Ray, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
Lorenz, Donald, Concordia College, Portland, Ore.
Lorge, Irving, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Lorusso, Rocco E., 2386 Knapp Dr., Rahway, N.J.
Loughrea, Mildred, Asst. Dir., Elem. Educ., City Schools, St. Paul, Minn.
Lovelass, Harry D., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Lowe, Alberta, College of Educ., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Lowe, Mrs. Herman, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Ky.
Lowe, R. N., Eastern Montana College of Educ., Billings, Mont.
Lowes, Ruth, Prof. of Educ., West Texas State Col., Canyon, Tex.
*Lowry, Charles D. *Deceased.*
Lowry, V. A., President, General Beadle State Tchrs. College, Madison, S.D.
Lubbers, Bartlett C., University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio
Lubell, Richard M., Principal, Public School 92, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Lucas, John J., 300 East 159th Street, New York, N.Y.
Lucash, Benjamin, 1367 Magee Avenue, Philadelphia, Penn.
Lucio, William H., Co-od., Elem. Educ., San Diego St. Col., San Diego, Calif.
Luckey, Bertha M., Psychologist, Board of Education, Cleveland, Ohio
Ludeman, LeRoy, Principal, Central High School, Aberdeen, S.D.
Ludes, Fr. Titus H., O.F.M., Quincy College, Quincy, Ill.
Ludington, John R., U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Luecke, Mrs. Carl L., 411 Sergeant Ave., Joplin, Mo.
Luke, Brother, Institute Pedagogique St. Georges, Laval-Rapids, Que.
Luker, Arno H., Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.
Lund, S. E. Torsten, Haviland Hall, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
Lunt, Robert, Supt., School Union Ten, Scarborough, Me.
Lurton, Sallie E., Headmistress, Holton-Arms Schools, Washington, D.C.
Luvaas, Clarence B., Principal, Hayes Elementary School, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Lykins, Charles E., Supv. Principal, Lincoln School, Muncie, Ind.
Lyman, Howard B., Dept. of Psych., Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Lynch, James M., Superintendent, Franklin Township Schls., Middlebush, N.J.
Lynch, Katharine D., Bur. for Child. with Ret. Ment. Develop., New York, N.Y.
Lynch, Mary Elizabeth, State Tchrs. Col. of Boston, Boston, Mass.
Lyons, John H., Dir., Guid. and Audio-Vis. Aids, Pub. Schls., Thompsonville,
    Conn.

Macbeth, Ruby, 69 Cannon St., Charleston, S.C.
MacDonald, Nellie V., 2770 Yonge St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada
MacFee, Mrs. Winifred C., Western Mich. College, Kalamazoo, Mich.
MacKay, James L., 2205 West Mistletoe St., San Antonio, Tex.
Mackenzie, Donald M., Dean, Blackburn College, Carlinville, Ill.
MacKenzie, Elbridge G., Anderson College, Anderson, Ind.
Mackenzie, Gordon N., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Mackintosh, Helen K., U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
MacLean, Malcolm S., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Maddox, Clifford R., 15816 Marshfield Ave., Harvey, Ill.
Madison, George W., San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Magdalen Marie, Sister, Dept. of Educ., Siena Heights College, Adrian, Mich.
Magoon, Thomas M., 2337 Doswell Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Mahaffey, Clarence H., 4953 Edgerton Ave., Encino, Calif.
Mahler, Clarence A., Dept. of Psych., Oregon State College, Corvallis, Ore.
Mahoney, John J., Dir., Civic Educ. Center, Tufts College, Medford, Mass.
Mailey, James H., Sch. of Educ., Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
Major, C. L., Denison University, Granville, Ohio
Malan, Russell, Superintendent of Schools, Harrisburg, Ill.
Malaney, Jon Francis, 412½ Third St. South, Virginia, Minn.
Maline, Julian L., West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Ind.
Mallory, Berenice, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
Malone, John M., Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala.
Malone, Rev. Michael C., O.S.B., Conception Seminary, Conception, Mo.
Maloney, Marguerite L., Asst. Dir. of Elem. Educ., City Schls., St. Paul, Minn.
Maloof, Mitchell, P.O. Box 22, Roslindale, Mass.
Malter, Morton S., Portland State Ext. Center, Portland, Ore.
Maney, Mrs. Ethel S., 121 Montgomery Ave., Bala-Cynwyd, Pa.
Mang, Brother William, Sch. of Educ., Fordham University, New York, N.Y.
Mann, J. P., Supt. of Schools, Appleton, Wis.
Mann, V. S., Box 266, State College, Miss.
Mantell, Herman P., 154 Nassau Street, New York, N.Y.
Manuel, Herschel T., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Marc-Aurele, Paul, 4261-A Bordeaux St., Montreal, Que.
Margolis, Herman R., Principal, Goodrich Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Maria Catherine, Sister, Mount St. Vincent College, Halifax, Nova Scotia
Markarian, Robert E., Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.
Markey, Ruth, 6038 Canal Blvd., New Orleans, La.
Marks, Sallie B., 3133 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
Marksberry, Mary Lee, Col. of Educ., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Marquis, Norwood, School of Educ., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
Marrinan, Edward L., Jr., 643 Circle Road, Dayton, Ohio
Marsh, Kathleen H., Asst. Prin., Chaney School, Detroit, Mich.
Marshall, Thomas O., 2 Davis Court, Durham, N.H.
Martin, Clyde V., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Martin, Edwin D., Dir. of Research, Public Schools, Houston, Tex.
Martin, George B., Willamette University, Salem, Ore.
Martin, Howell C., Principal, Valdosta High School, Valdosta, Ga.
Martin, Katherine W., 821 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N.J.
Martin, John Z., President, Upland College, Upland, Calif.
Martin, W. Howard, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Martini, Angiolina A., 2629 Dwight Way, Berkeley, Calif.
Martinson, Ruth A., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Martorana, Sabastian V., Dean, Gen. Col., Ferris Institute, Big Rapids, Mich.
Mary Adelbert, Sister, S.N.D., Diocesan Supv. of Schools, Toledo, Ohio
Mary Afra, Sister, St. Mary College, Xavier, Kan.
Mary Anastasia, Sister, Dean, St. Mary's College, Holy Cross, Ind.
Mary Angela Betke, Sister, Felician Psychological Clinic, Buffalo, N.Y.
Mary Aquinas, Sister, C.P.P.S., Immaculata College, Dayton, Ohio
Mary Basil, Sister, Good Counsel College, White Plains, New York
Mary Benedetta, Mother, Prin., Villa Cabrini Academy, Burbank, Calif.

Mary Benedict, Sister, B.V.M., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Mundelein Col., Chicago, Ill.
Mary Berenice O'Neill, Sister, C.S.J., Pres., Col. of St. Teresa, Kansas City, Mo.
Mary Bernice, Sister, Dept. of Educ., St. John College, Cleveland, Ohio
Mary Caroline, Sister, Educ. Dept., Notre Dame College, Staten Island, N.Y.
Mary Christine Beck, Sister, Dir., Sacred Heart Jr. Col., Belmont, N.C.
Mary Coralita, Sister, O.P., St. Mary of the Springs, Columbus, Ohio
Mary Dolores, Sister, College of St. Francis, Joliet, Ill.
Mary Dorothy, Sister, Education Dept., Barry College, Miami, Fla.
Mary Estelle, Sister, O.D., Principal, Visitation High School, Chicago, Ill.
Mary Florita, Sister, Community Supv., Nazareth Motherhouse, Rochester, N.Y.
Mary Francesca, Sister, Georgian Court College, Lakewood, N.J.
Mary Gabrielle, Sister, Nazareth College, Nazareth, Mich.
Mary Gerold, Sister, Dean, 1209 Park Ave., Racine, Wis.
Mary Imeldine, Sister, Marylhurst College, Marylhurst, Ore.
Mary Imeldis, Sister, Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mary Inez, Mother, Holy Family College, Manitowoc, Wis.
Mary Irmina, Sister, Villa Madonna College, Covington, Ky.
Mary Joseph, Sister, 35-50 158th St., Flushing, N.Y.
Mary Josephine, Sister, Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.
Mary Jud, Sister, Dept. of Educ., Xavier College, Chicago, Ill.
Mary Justinia, Sister, Notre Dame Convent, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mary Kathleen, Sister, Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore, Md.
Mary Kevin, Sister, President, Marian College, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mary Lawrence, Sister, Mary Manse College, Toledo, Ohio
Mary Marguerite, Sister, B.V.M., Principal, Gesu Convent, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mary Michael, Sister, Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Mary Muriel Hogan, Sister, Ottumwa Heights College, Ottumwa, Iowa
Mary Muriel, Sister, Marian College, Fond du Lac, Wis.
Mary Nolasco McPhillips, Sister, Mercy College, Detroit, Mich.
Mary Regina, Sister, Elem. Sch. Supv., Sisters of Mercy Provin. House, Chicago,
    Ill.
Mary Regis, Sister, Principal, St. Peter's High School, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mary Rose Agnes, Sister, Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Cincinnati, Ohio
Mary Rose Eileen, Sister, Dunbarton College of Holy Cross, Washington, D.C.
Mary of St. Michael, Sister, College of the Holy Name, Oakland, Calif.
Mary Teresa Francis McDade, Sister, Mount Carmel, Dubuque, Iowa
Mary Theodine, Sister, Dean, Viterbo College, La Crosse, Wis.
Mary Vera, Sister, C.S.A., Principal, Jefferson School, Hays, Kan.
Mary Vincent Therese, Sister, St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Marzolf, Stanley S., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Masters, Harry V., President, Albright College, Reading, Pa.
Mathews, C. O., Dept. of Educ., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
Mathiasen, O. F., Dept. of Educ., Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Matricaria, D. Anthony, 73 Howard Ave., Ansonia, Conn.
Matthew, Eunice Sophia, State Dept. of Education, Nashville, Tenn.
Matthews, R. D., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Pennsylvania, **Philadelphia, Pa.**
Matthews, Stephen J., 34 Holmes Court, Albany, N.Y.
Mattila, Ruth H., Dept. of Educ., Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa
Mattola, Margaret D., 77 Hersey Street, Portland, Me.
Maucker, James William, President, Iowa State Tchrs. College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Mauth, Leslie J., Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
Maw, Wallace H., Educational Foundation in India, New Delhi, India
Mayo, Jane A., 2606 Wolfe Street, Little Rock, Ark.
McBrair, Marian, Assoc. Dean of Stud., Iowa State Tchrs. Col., Cedar Falls, Iowa
McBride, James H., Superintendent of Schools, Norwalk, Ohio
McCallister, J. M., 8100 South Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
McClean, Donald E., George Washington High School, Los Angeles, Calif.
McCleery, Wayne E. *Deceased.*
McClenaghan, Mary, Dir., Kdg.-Primary Educ., Public Schools, Tulsa, Okla.
McClendon, LeRoy, 313 East Austin, Nacogdoches, Tex.
McClintock, James A., Drew University, Madison, N.J.

McCluer, V. C., Supt. of Schools, Ferguson, Mo.
McClurkin, W. D., George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
McClusky, F. D., Sch. of Educ., University of Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
McClusky, Howard Y., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
McConnell, Gaither, 254 Pine Street, New Orleans, La.
McConnell, T. R., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
McCook, T. Joseph, Superintendent of Schools, Haverhill, Mass.
McCorkle, David B., University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
McCormick, Chester A., Col. of Educ., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
McCormick, Felix J., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
McCrary, James W., Jr., East Texas State Tchrs. College, Commerce, Tex.
McCuen, Theoron L., Supt., Kern County Union High School, Bakersfield, Calif.
McCullough, Constance M., San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
McDermott, John C., Chm., Dept. of Educ., St. John's Univ., Brooklyn, N.Y.
McDermott, Leon A., Central Mich. Col. of Educ., Mount Pleasant, Mich.
McDevitt, John W., Superintendent of Schools, Waltham, Mass.
McDonald, L. R., Principal, Woodruff High School, Peoria, Ill.
McDonald, Mrs. V. R., Olive Branch, Miss.
McDougle, Ethel, 3776 West Thirty-third St., Cleveland, Ohio
McFadden, Mrs. LE'toile K., Asst. Dir., Nursing Educ., Emanuel Hospital, Portland, Ore.
McGarry, Charles P., Supt., Diocese of Camden, Camden, N.J.
McGarry, Francis B., State Teachers College, East Stroudsburg, Pa.
McGaughy, Jean B., Prin., Countryside School, Barrington, Ill.
McGee, Mary I., Woodstock School, Landour, Mussoorie, U.P., India
McGinnis, Frederick A., Chm., Div. of Educ., Wilberforce Uni., Wilberforce, Ohio
McGlasson, Maurice A., Central Washington College of Educ., Ellensburg, Wash.
McGuire, J. Carson, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Texas, Austin, Tex.
McHale, Kathryn, 3601 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
McIlrath, William J., State Teachers College, Florence, Ala.
McIntosh, Charles W., Dept. of Ind. Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
McIntosh, D. C., Dean, Grad. Sch., A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.
McIntosh, William Ray, Superintendent of Schools, Rockford, Ill.
McIntyre, Richmond E., Principal, J. F. Gunn Elem. Sch., Burlington, N.C.
McIsaac, John S., Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa.
McKee, W. J., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
McKelvey, Frederick H., Dir., Cen. for Educ. Serv., Ohio Univ., Athens, Ohio
McKeough, Rev. M. J., Dean, St. Norbert College, West DePere, Wis.
McKernon, James G., Skinner Junior High School, Denver, Colo.
McKim, Margaret G., Teachers College, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
McKinney, C. A. Dean, Sch. of Educ., Rider College, Trenton, N.J.
*McKinney, James, Chm., Bd. of Trustees, American School, Chicago, Ill.
McKnight, Mrs. F. J., Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Ga.
McLaughlin, James J., Wisconsin State College, River Falls, Wis.
McLaughlin, Kenneth F., Test Serv. Bur., Florida St. Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
McLaughlin, Vincent J., School of Educ., Fordham Univ., New York, N.Y.
McLaughlin, William J., Prin., D. A. Harmon Jr. H.S., Hazelton, Pa.
McLeary, Ralph D., Superintendent of Schools, Jackson, Mich.
McLendon, Jonathon C., Dept. of Educ., Duke University, Durham, N.C.
McLure, John R., Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Alabama, University, Ala.
McMahan, F. J., St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa
McMahan, John Julia, New Mexico Col. of A. & M., State College, N.M.
McMahon, Mrs. G. F., Prin., Bennett Elementary School, Chicago, Ill.
McManamon, James, Quincy College, Quincy, Ill.
McMaster, T. A., Genl. Secy., Manitoba Teachers Society, Winnipeg, Manitoba
McMillian, N. B., Dir., Public Rela., Morehead State College, Morehead, Ky.
McMullen, Charles B., Dean, State Tchrs. College, Bridgewater, Mass.
McNally, Harold J., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
McNellis, Esther L., 30 Medfield St., Boston, Mass.
McNutt, C. R., Provost Marshall General's School, Camp Gordon, Ga.

McPadden, James, Dean of Men, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
McPhail, Harry R., Superintendent of Schools, Ames, Iowa
McPherson, Virgil L., Head, Soc. Sci. Dept., Chapman College, Los Angeles, Calif.
McPherson, Mrs. W. M., Box 513, Brook Street, Newark Valley, N.Y.
McQueeny, Mother Mary, San Francisco Col. for Women, San Francisco, Calif.
McRae, Louie James, Principal, East Highland School, Dothan, Ala.
McSwain, E. T., Sch. of Educ., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
McTigue, Mary R., Principal, Knickerbocker School, Chicago, Ill.
McWilliams, Alyce, 1775 Broadway, Beaumont, Tex.
*Mead, Arthur R., 112 N.W. 20th St., Gainesville, Fla.
Means, William J., Prin., North Union High School, Uniontown, Pa.
Mease, Clyde D., Superintendent of Schools, Humboldt, Iowa
Mech, Edmund V., University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Meckel, Henry C., San Jose State Col., San Jose, Calif.
Meder, Elsa M., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.
Meehan, Rev. John T., Prin., Norfolk Catholic High School, Norfolk, Va.
Meeting, Charlotte V., McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, N.Y.
Meiser, Rolland O., Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
Melby, Ernest O., Sch. of Educ., New York Univ., New York, N.Y.
Melchert, John C., Jr., Instituto Normal Evangelico, San Pedro Sula, Honduras
Mellott, Malcolm E., Editor-in-Chief, John C. Winston, Philadelphia, Pa.
Melville, S. Donald, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J.
Mendenhall, C. B., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Mendenhall, L. Herbert, Head, Educ. Dept., Wm. Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa
Mendoza, Romulo Y., Bureau of Public Schools, Manila, Phillippines
Menegat, Paul A., Supt. Prin., Forest Grove Union High Schl., Forest Grove, Ore.
Menge, Carleton P., University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.
Menge, J. W., College of Educ., Wayne Univ., Detroit, Mich.
Mengel, Dorothy A., Mt. Pleasant Mills, Pa.
Mensenkamp, L. E., Prin., Freeport High School, Freeport, Ill.
Meredith, Cameron W., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Merenda, Peter F., Res. and Eval. Branch, Naval Exam. Cen., Great Lakes, Ill.
Merrill, Ray S., Prin., Central School, Pleasant Grove, Utah
Merry, Mrs. R. V., Morris Harvey College, Charleston, W.Va.
Mersand, Joseph, Curric. Co-ord., Academic High Schools, New York, N.Y.
Metzner, Jerome, Jamaica High School, New York, N.Y.
Metzner, William, Prin., John B. Stetson Junior High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Meyer, Charlotte, Elementary Supervisor, Public Schools, Decatur, Ill.
Meyer, George A., Col. of Educ., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Meyers, Max B., 324 East 59th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Meyers, W. H., 1306 Sunset Lane, Alvin, Tex.
Michael, Lloyd S., Superintendent, Evanston Township High School, Evanston, Ill.
Michaelis, Dorothy I., 40 Evelyn Pl., Staten Island, N.Y.
Michaelis, John U., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Micheels, William J., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Michelson, John M., Sch. of Educ., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mikesell, Doyle, Head, Div. of Basic Stud., Drake Univ., Des Moines, Iowa
Miles, Arnold A., 11500 Hamilton Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Miles, Vaden W., Physics Dept., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Milheim, Robert P., 17 East Spring St., Oxford, Ohio
Millard, C. V., Div. of Educ., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Miller, Benjamin, Supv., Day Elementary School, Bronx, N.Y.
Miller, Carroll H., Colorado A. & M. College, Ft. Collins, Colo.
Miller, Carroll L., College of L.A., Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.
Miller, Charles, Vice-Prin., McKinley Elem. School, Newark, N.J.
Miller, Charles S., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Miller, George C., Principal, Folsom High School, Folsom, Calif.
Miller, Henry, Sch. of Educ., City College, New York, N.Y.
Miller, Kenneth M., University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia
Miller, Lawrence William, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Miller, Louise C., 627 North Main St., Adrian, Mich.

Miller, Paul A., Superintendent of City Schools, Minot, N.D.
Miller, Paul A., 401 Kenmore Ave. N.E., Warren, Ohio
Miller, Ruth M., Hartwick College, Oneonta, N.Y.
Millerd, Max A., Prin., Clarenceville High School, Livonia, Mich.
Milligan, Glenn E., Findlay College, Findlay, Ohio
Milligan, Mrs. Phyllis E., 333 Frazer Street, Findlay, Ohio
Milling, Euleas, 29 South Georgia Ave., Concord, N.C.
Mills, Forrest L., Racine Public Library, Racine, Wis.
Mills, Henry C., University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
Milner, Bessie, Principal, East Ward School, Gulfport, Miss.
Miniclier, G. E., Principal, Washington High School, St. Paul, Minn.
Minnis, Roy B., Community Col. of the Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Minock, Daniel F., John A. Sutter Junior High School, Los Angeles, Calif.
Minogue, Mildred M., Prin., Armstrong Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Misner, Paul J., Superintendent of Schools, Glencoe, Ill.
Mitchell, B. F., Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
Mitchell, Eva C., Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Mitchell, Frank W., University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand
Mitchell, Guy Clifford, Dept. of Educ., Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.
Mitchell, T. W., Principal, East Junior-Sen. High School, Duluth, Minn.
Mitchell, William R., Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.
Mitzel, Harold E., Div. of Tchr. Educ., 500 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.
Moffatt, Maurice P., Montclair State Tchrs. College, Montclair, N.J.
Moffitt, J. C., Superintendent of Schools, Provo, Utah
Moldstad, John Alton, Audio-Visual Center, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.
Moll, Boniface E., St. Benedicts College, Atchison, Kan.
Monell, Ralph P., Superintendent, Public Schools, Canon City, Colo.
*Monroe, Walter S., 420 Van Buren Ave., Los Altos, Calif.
Montgomery, George, Prin., West Philadelphia High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Montgomery, Thomas S., Sam Houston State Tchrs. College, Huntsville, Tex.
Moody, Edith, Elementary Supervisor, Richmond, Calif.
Moon, F. D., Principal, Douglas High School, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Moon, James V., Superintendent of Schools, Western Springs, Ill.
Moore, Cecil L., Principal, L. L. Campbell School, Austin, Tex.
Moore, Clyde B., Stone Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Moore, H. K., Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights, Ark.
Moore, Harold E., Sch. of Educ., University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Moore, John W., Superintendent of Schools, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Moore, Parlett L., Principal, Carver High School, Rockville, Md.
Moorhead, Sylvester A., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Moran, Alfred A., Dept. of Educ., University of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Morehead, Allan, New Jersey State Teachers Col., Upper Montclair, N.J.
Morgan, Barton, Dept. of Educ., Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
Morgan, Roland R., Supt. of Schools, Mooresville, N.C.
Moriarty, Joseph F., Fordham University, New York, N.Y.
Moriarty, Mary J., State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Mass.
Mork, Gordon M. A., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Morrison, Fanny, 169 Mt. Vernon Street, Dover, N.H.
Morrison, Gaylord D., Colorado State College of Educ., Greeley, Colo.
*Morrison, J. Cayce, 530 East 23rd St., New York, N.Y.
Morrison, Nellie C., Supv., Elementary Educ., Public Schls., Muncie, Ind.
Morse, Horace T., Dean, Gen. Col., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mort, Paul, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Morton, R. L., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Mosbo, Alvin O., Principal, Madison School, Davenport, Iowa
Moseley, S. Meredith, Principal, Dillard High School, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Mosely, B. F., Principal, Randolph County Training School, Cuthbert, Ga.
Mosher, Frank K., Dist. Prin., Liverpool Central Schls., Liverpool, N.Y.
Mosier, Earl E., Dean, Michigan State Normal Col., Ypsilanti, Mich.
Moss, Roy B., Dir., Audio-Visual Center, Grambling, La.
Mourier, Regis Paul, Northridge High School, Dayton, Ohio

Moyer, James H., Dept. of Educ., Pennsylvania State Col., State College, Pa.
Mudge, Evelyn L., Head, Dept. of Educ., Hood College, Frederick, Md.
Mudge, John, Asst. Dist. Supt., Public Schools, Santa Maria, Calif.
Muirhead, Joseph V., Prin., Pittsburg Evening High School, Pittsburg, Calif.
Muldoon, Hugh C., Dean, Sch. of Pharmacy, Duquesne Univ., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mulhern, Joseph C., S.M., Chm., Educ. Dept., Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.
Mulholland, Walter E., Educ. Dept., State Univ. Teachers College, Cortland, N.Y.
Muller, Philippe, l'Univ. et l'Ecole Normale cantonale, Neuchatel, Switzerland
Mulliner, John H., 612 North Bismark Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.
Mulrooney, Thomas W., Dir., Child Devel. & Guid., Pub. Schls., Wilmington, Del.
Mulry, Verna, Dir. of Reading, Waukesha H.S., Waukesha, Wis.
Munro, C. Donald, Prin., King George School, Peterborough, Ont.
Munro, Paul M., Superintendent of Schools, Lynchburg, Va.
Muntyan, Bozidar, Col. of Educ., University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Muntyan, Milosh, Chm., Dept. of High. Educ., Mich. State Col., East Lansing, Mich.
Murnane, Patrick J., Principal, Newburyport High School, Newburyport, Mass.
Murphy, Donald J., Central Washington College of Education, Ellensburg, Wash.
Murphy, Edna I., Box 354, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Murphy, Forrest W., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Murphy, George E., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Murphy, Helen A., Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Murphy, Mrs. Jeannie Dean, 1960 West Seventy-ninth St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Murphy, John A., 21-10 33rd Road, Long Island City, N.Y.
Murray, Lessie L., Head, Elem. Educ. Dept., Atlanta Christian Col., Wilson, N.C.
Murray, Robert E., 1916 South Sig Hill Drive, Kirkwood, Mo.
Murray, Thomas, Dept. of Educ., Sam Houston State Tchrs. Col., Huntsville, Tex.
Myer, P. G., Superintendent of Schools, Alexander City, Ala.
Myers, Mrs. Emma G., Orangeville, Columbia County, Pa.

Nagy, O. Richard, Principal, Carteret School, Bloomfield, N.J.
Nahm, Helen, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
Nahshon, Samuel, Dir. of Educ., Beth El Schools, Omaha, Neb.
Nance, Mrs. Afton Dill, State Dept. of Education, Sacramento, Calif.
Nance, Mrs. Ellen M., W. 1104-15th Ave., Spokane, Wash.
Naslund, Robert A., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Southern Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Nason, Doris E., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
Nassau, Dorothy P., Pedagogical Library, Bd. of Educ., Philadelphia, Pa.
Naumann, M. J., Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Ill.
Neal, Nellie N., 2524 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
Neale, Gladys E., Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, Ont.
Neff, Frederick Clifton, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Nelson, Carl B., 2300 Colfax Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Nelson, Earl E., Lake County High School, Two Harbors, Minn.
Nelson, Kenneth G., New York State Dept. of Education, Albany, N.Y.
Nelson, M. J., Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Nelson, Milton G., 77 Brookline Ave., Albany, N.Y.
Nelson, N. P., State Teachers College, Oshkosh, Wis.
Nemzek, Claude L., Chm., Educ. Dept., Univ. of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Nesbit, Daun Wilbur, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
Neuber, Margaut A., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Neuner, Elsie Flint, Dir. of Instruction, Dept. of Educ., New Rochelle, N.Y.
Newman, Herbert M., Education Dept., Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Newman, Louis, Principal, Akiba Hebrew Academy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Newman, Slater E., Human Resources Research Center, Biloxi, Miss.
Nicholas, William T., 7 Parkview Court, Pocatello, Idaho
Nichols, Augusta M., Asst. Supt. of Schools, Manchester, N.H.
Nichols, James Herbert, Elementary Principal, Georgetown, Del.
Nicholson, Alice, 891 10th Ave. North, Pensacola, Fla.
Nickerson, James F., Dept. of Music Educ., Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Nielsen, William A., Bakersfield High School, Bakersfield, Calif.

Nietz, John A., Sch. of Educ., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Nikoloff, Nicholas, 605 Williams St., Springfield, Mo.
Nixon, John E., Sch. of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Noar, Gertrude, 225 Adams St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Noll, Victor H., Sch. of Educ., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Norberg, Kenneth D., Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Calif.
Nordberg, H. Orville, Dept. of Educ., Sacramento State Col., Sacramento, Calif.
Norem, Grant M., State Teachers College, Minot, N.D.
Norman, Wade C., 5619 Maxwell Ave., Affton, Mo.
Norris, Forbes H., Superintendent of Schools, Rockville, Md.
Norris, K. E., Prin., Sir George Williams College of Y.M.C.A., Montreal, Que.
Norris, Paul B., Exec. Secy., Iowa Div. Izaak Walton League, Indianola, Iowa
Norris, Robert B., Dept. of Educ., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
Norrix, Loy, Superintendent of Schools, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Norton, Rev. Edward, S.V.D., 4940 South Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Norton, John K., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Nosal, Walter S., Dir., Dept. of Educ., John Carroll Univ., Cleveland, Ohio
Novotny, Marcella, Queens Vocational High School, Long Island City, N.Y.
Nunnally, Nancy, 4028 Egbert Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
Nutter, H. E., Head, Materials of Instruc., Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.

Oberholtzer, Kenneth E., Supt. of Schools, Denver, Colo.
O'Brien, Cyril C., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.
O'Brien, John W., 8303 Hull Drive, Wyndmoor, Philadelphia, Pa.
O'Connell, Sister Margaret Mary, Pres., Col. of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Md.
O'Connor, Clarence D., Lexington Sch. for the Deaf, New York, N.Y.
O'Connor, John D., Teaching Principal, Hampshire, Ill.
O'Connor, Mrs. Marguerite O., Northern Illinois State Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Odell, C. W., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Officer, W. J., Carter-Lawrence School, Nashville, Tenn.
Ogilvie, William K., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Ogle, Rachel, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
O'Hara, Rev. Charles M., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.
O'Hearn, Mary, 1060 High Street, Dedham, Mass.
Ohlsen, Merle M., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Ojemann, R. H., Child Welfare Res. Sta., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
O'Keefe, Timothy, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
Olander, Herbert T., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Oldham, Mrs. Birdie V., Principal, Rochelle Elem. School, Lakeland, Fla.
Olea, Mrs. Maria, Cuenca Batangas, Philippine Islands
O'Leary, Timothy F., Asst. Supt. of Catholic Schools, Boston, Mass.
Oliver, Albert Irving, Jr., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Oliver, George J., Dept. of Educ., Col. of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
Oliver, Stanley C., Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Mo.
Olsen, Hans C., Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, Ill.
Olsen, Marion G., Principal, Public School 84, Buffalo, N.Y.
Olson, Irene, Vocational Guidance Service, Minneapolis, Minn.
Olson, Willard C., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich.
O'Mara, J. Francis, Coord. in Cur. Develop., Pub. Schls., West Springfield, Mass.
Ooley, Everett B., Principal, H. A. Gray School, Edmonton, Alberta
Oppenheim, Alan, Leyden Community High School, Franklin Park, Ill.
Oppenheimer, J. J., University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
Orleans, Jacob S., Div. of Tchr. Educ., City College, New York, N.Y.
Ormsby, Lelia T., Dept. of Educ., Sacramento State Col., Sacramento, Calif.
O'Rourke, J. Mel, Principal, Kenwood School, Chicago, Ill.
Orr, Louise, 925 Crockett St., Amarillo, Tex.
Orton, Don A., Col. of Educ., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Osborn, John K., Central State College of Education, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
Osborn, Wayland W., Board of Education Examiners, Des Moines, Iowa
Osburn, W. J., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Ostrander, Raymond H., Supt. of Schools, Mineola, N.Y.

Ostwalt, Jay H., Dept. of Educ., Davidson College, Davidson, N.C.
O'Sullivan, Nona R., 340 West St., Randolph, Mass.
Oswald, Frederick Wm., Principal, Lafayette High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Oswalt, Edna R., Head, Dept. of Spec. Educ., Kent State Univ., Kent, Ohio
Oswalt, William W., Jr., Read. Supv., Lehigh County Schools, Allentown, Pa.
Otto, Henry J., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Otts, John, Principal, Central High School, Charlotte, N.C.
Overstreet, George T., Retired Prin., Burnett High School, Terrell, Tex.
Owen, Mary E., Editor, *The Instructor*, Dansville, N.Y.
Owens, Henry G., 13 Clarendon Ave., Sans Souci, Greenville, S.C.
Owings, Ralph S., Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg, Miss.

Pace, C. Robert, Chm., Dept. of Psych., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Paine, H. W., Inst. of Inter-Amer. Aff., Amer. Emb., Balboa, Canal Zone
Painter, Fred B., Superintendent, Brighton School Dist. 1, Rochester, N.Y.
Palmer, E. Laurence, Emeritus Prof. of Rural Educ., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
Palmer, Frank J., 208 Church Street, North Syracuse, N.Y.
Palmer, James B., Ginn and Company, Boston, Mass.
Palmer, Josephine S., State Teachers College, New Paltz, N.Y.
Palmer, Lulu, State Department of Education, Montgomery, Ala.
Palmquist, Marjorie Jane, 2610 Etna St., Berkeley, Calif.
Pando, Jose C., St. John's University, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Pankove, Mrs. Ethel, 41 Harriet Dr., Princeton, N.J.
Panlasigui, Isidoro, Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines
Parke, Margaret B., 430 West 118th St., New York, N.Y.
Parker, Edna, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Parker, Jessie M., Superintendent of Public Instruction, Des Moines, Iowa
Parks, Ethel, Route 2, Calhoun, Mo.
Parkyn, George W., Dir., N. Z. Council for Educ. Research, Willington, New Zealand
Parrish, William, 215 W. Downing, Tahlequah, Okla.
Parsons, Arthur Lovell, Junior High School, Winchester, Mass.
Parsons, Seth H., Dept. of Educ., New Mexico Highlands Univ., Las Vegas, N.M.
Parton, Daisy, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Alabama, University, Ala.
Partridge, Deborah C., Dept. of Educ., Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Pasricha, Bal Rama, National Defence Academy, Clement Town, Dehra Dun, U.P. India
Passow, A. Harry, Teachers Col., Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Pate, Mildred, Forsyth County Board of Educ., Winston-Salem, N.C.
Patrick, Robert B., 525 West Foster Ave., State College, Pa.
Pattee, Howard H., Genl. Secy., Calif. Assn. of Indep. Schls., Claremont, Calif.
Patten, Ruth H., General Supv., Public Schools, Richmond, Calif.
Patterson, Gordon E., Res. Dir., Santa Fe City Schools, Santa Fe, N.M.
* Patterson, Herbert, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.
Pattillo, Manning M., Jr., North Central Assn. of Col. and Sec. Schls., Chicago, Ill.
Paul, Marvin S., 1354 Estes Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Paulien, Gunther B., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Paulson, Alice T., Principal, High School, Blue Earth, Minn.
Pauly, Frank R., Dir. of Res., Board of Educ., Tulsa, Okla.
Pavel, Harriet, Greeley Vocational School, Chicago, Ill.
Pax, Walter, Dean, St. Joseph's College, Collegeville, Ind.
Payne, Donald T., Chosen Christian University, Seoul, Korea
Payne, Joseph Arthur, Jr., Dean, Barber Scotia College, Concord, N.C.
Payne, Walter L., Lyons Township Junior College, La Grange, Ill.
Paynovich, Nicholas, Amphitheater High School, Tucson, Ariz.
Peacock, A. E., Supt. of Schools, Moose Jaw, Sask.
Peaslee, Donald E., Col. of Educ., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Peel, J. C., Dean, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla.
Peirce, Lottie M., Educ. and Vocational Counselor, Boulder, Colo.
Pella, Milton O., Univ. High School, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Pelton, Frank M., Univ. of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I.
Pendleton, James N., Box 213, Benton City, Wash.
Penn, Floy L., Mt. Lebanon Public Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Perdew, Philip W., University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Peregrine, Donald, Superintendent, Starke County Schools, Knox, Ind.
Perkins, Raymond E., Supt. of Schools, Bloomfield, Conn.
Permenter, John A., Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Perrin, Porter G., Dept. of English, Univ. of Wash., Seattle, Wash.
Perry, Elizabeth W., 1588 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.
Perry, James Olden, Dept. of Educ., Texas Southern University, Houston, Tex.
Perry, Winona M., Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Peters, Frank R., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Petersen, Anna J., 10 Suydan St., New Brunswick, N.J.
Peterson, A. I., Supv. of Indian Education, Bemidji, Minn.
Peterson, Aaron D., R.R. 1, Godfrey, Ill.
Peterson, Arthur E., Supt. of Schools, Sandy City, Utah
Peterson, Elmer T., Col. of Educ., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Peterson, Evelyn F., Dir. of Elem. Educ., Waterloo, Iowa
Peterson, LeRoy, Sch. of Educ., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Peterson, M. A., Orleans, Minn.
Peterson, Wiley K., Dist. Supt., Public Schools, Hermosa Beach, Calif.
Petty, Walter T., 335 Finkbine Park, Iowa City, Iowa
Pezzullo, Thomas J., Asst. Supt., Johnston School Dept., Johnston, R.I.
Pfau, Ed, Sch. of Educ., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Phay, John E., Bur. of Educ. Res., Univ. of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Phearman, Leo T., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Phillips, A. J., Exec. Secy., Mich. Educ. Assn., Lansing, Mich.
Phillips, Claude Anderson, Switzer Hall, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Phillips, Mrs. Meriam S., Principal, Humphries School, Atlanta, Ga.
Phillips, Ned, Supt. of Schools, Naches, Wash.
Phillips, Thomas A., Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, Ill.
Piazza, Frank, Asst. Superintendent, Board of Education, Bridgeport, Conn.
Picchiotti, Natalie, Prin., Schley School, Chicago, Ill.
Pickering, Iva Viola, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
Piekarz, Josephine A., Read. Clinic, Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
Pieper, M. C., Concordia Tchrs. Col., River Forest, Ill.
Pierson, Leroy R., Portland State Extension Center, Milwaukie, Ore.
Pietz, Emil T., 4444 Irving St., Denver, Colo.
Pike, Carroll Milton, Jr., Northern Ill. State Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Pinckney, Paul W., Principal, Oakland High School, Oakland, Calif.
Pitkin, Royce S., President, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt.
Pitt, Rt. Rev. Msgr., Sec., Catholic School Board, Louisville, Ky.
Pittman, DeWitt Kennieth, Prin., E. Mecklenburg Sr. High Schl., Matthews, N.C.
Pitts, Clara L., 1705 Kenyon St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Plana, Juan F., Province Inspector of Prim. Inst., Camaguey, Cuba
Pledger, Maud Myrtice, East Texas State Tchrs. Col., Commerce, Tex.
Plemmons, William H., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Pliska, Stanley Robert, Norfolk Div., Col. of William and Mary, Norfolk, Va.
Plog, Lawrence T., Kingston High School, Kingston, N.Y.
Plumb, Valworth R., Div. of Educ., Duluth Br., Univ. of Minn., Duluth, Minn.
Podlich, William F., Jr., 192 Vista del Cerro Dr., Tempe, Ariz.
Pogue, Graham, Dir. of Stud. Tchng., Ball State Tchrs. Col., Muncie, Ind.
Pogue, William Richey, Principal, High School, Macomb, Ill.
Polley, Mrs. Victoria Z., Principal, Evershed School, Niagara Falls, N.Y.
Poole, Albert E., 316 Graceland Ave., Des Plaines, Ill.
Porter, F. W., Supt. of Schools, Greenfield, Mass.
Porter, Gilbert L., Principal, Lincoln High School, Tallahassee, Fla.
Porter, R. H., Steck Company, Austin, Tex.
Porter, Willis P., Dir., Elem. Educ., State Teachers College, Oneonta, N.Y.
Potter, Muriel, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Potthoff, Edward F., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Poulos, Thomas H., Michigan School for the Deaf, Flint, Mich.
Poulter, Maxwell W., University of Queensland, St. Lucia Brisbane, Australia
Pound, Clarence A., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
Powell, Mrs. Virginia L., Prin., Garfield-Buchanan Schls., Steubenville, Ohio
Power, Edward J., 20235 Prevost, Detroit, Mich.
Powers, Fred R., Superintendent, Amherst Schools, Amherst, Ohio
Powers, S. Ralph, 90 Adams Ave., Haworth, N.J.
Pratt, L. Edward, Sch. of Educ., Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
Preston, Eleonora Marie, Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Preston, Ralph C., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prestwood, Elwood L., 426 Righters Mill Rd., Gladwyne, Pa.
Price, Charles B., President, Lamar Junior College, Lamar, Colo.
Price, R. Holleman, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Price, Robert Diddams, Teachers College, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Price, Ruth Evert, Language Arts Collaborator, Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prichard, Clarence, Superintendent, Township High School, Waukegan, Ill.
Proctor, Bernard S., Chrm., Dept. of Indust. Arts Educ., Hampton Inst., Va.
Prosch, M. Jean, 105 New England Ave., Summit, N.J.
Pruden, E. Tapelle, 407 West Washington St., Suffolk, Va.
Prudham, W. M., Prin., Collegiate and Vocational Inst., Owen Sound, Ont.
Prutzman, Stuart E., Superintendent of County Schools, Jim Thorpe, Pa.
Pugh, Sterling B., Prin., Washington School, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Pulsifer, Walter T., Sup. Massachusetts School Union 62, West Boylston, Mass.
Purdy, Norman E., Principal, Blue Ash School, Blue Ash, Ohio
Purdy, Ralph D., Dept. of Educ., Marshall College, Huntington, W.Va.
Puryear, R. W., Pres., Florida Normal and Indust. Mem. Col., St. Augustine, Fla.
Putnam, Rex, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salem, Ore.

Quanbeck, Martin, Dean, Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn.
Quick, Otho J., Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, Ill.
Quish, Bernard A., Prin., Phoebe Apperson Hearst School, Chicago, Ill.

Rackley, J. R., Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Okla., Norman, Okla.
Radhakrishna, K. S., Hindustani Talimi Sangh., Sevagram, Wardha, M.P., India
Radley, Arthur A., District Superintendent of Schools, Waterville, N.Y.
Ragan, William B., Dept. of Educ., University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Rahn, Lloyd N., Siepert Hall, Bradley University, Peoria, Ill.
Ramirez, Emiliano C., Div. Supt. of Schools, Cavite City, Cavite, Philippines
Ramsey, Grover C., 517 North Parkside, Chicago, Ill.
Ramsey, J. W., Principal, Superior-Maitland School, Northfork, W.Va.
Ramseyer, Lloyd L., President, Blufften College, Blufften, Ohio
Rand, E. W., Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
Randall, Don, Dir., Clear Lake Camp, Battle Creek Pub. Sch., Dowling, Mich.
Rankin, George R., South Division High School, Milwaukee, Wis.
Rankin, Paul T., Asst. Supt. of Schools, Detroit, Mich.
Ranney, Harriet, Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa
Rappaport, Mary B., State Education Department, Albany, N.Y.
Rasche, William F., Dir., Milwaukee Vocational School, Milwaukee, Wis.
Rasmussen, Elmer M., Dean, Dana College, Blair, Neb.
Ratliff, John A., Prin., Marshall Jr. High School, Houston, Tex.
Rattigan, Bernard T., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Raubinger, F. M., Commissioner of Educ., State Dept. of Educ., Trenton, N.J.
Rawson, K. O., Superintendent of Schools, Clintonville, Wis.
Ray, Ethel, Dept. of Educ., Western Illinois State College, Macomb, Ill.
Ray, Rolland, Col. of Educ., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Reals, Willis H., Dean, Univ. Col., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Reas, Herbert D., Act. Dean, Sch. of Education, Seattle Univ., Seattle, Wash.
* Reavis, W. C., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Reed, Calvin H., Tchrs. Col., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Reed, Charles H., Prin., Vista and MacGregor Schls., Albany, Calif.

Reed, Helen M., Col. of Educ., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
Reed, Lula B., County Supt. of Schools, Red Oak, Iowa
Reeves, Floyd W., Sch. of Educ., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Reeves, Wilfred, Prin., Roosevelt School, Olympia, Wash.
Rehage, Kenneth J., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Reichart, Robert E., Sch. of Educ., Oregon State College, Corvallis, Ore.
Reichert, Stephen B., Jr., John Muir College, Pasadena, Calif.
Reilley, Albert G., Asst. Supt. of Schools, Framingham, Mass.
Reilly, James J., Chm., Dept. of Educ., St. Anselm's College, Manchester, N.H.
Reilly, Mother Margaret, Forest Ridge Convent, Seattle, Wash.
Reinhardt, Emma, Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, Ill.
Reisberg, Sidney, Vice-President, Book-Records, Inc., New York, N.Y.
Reiter, M. R., Superintendent of Schools, Morrisville, Pa.
Reitze, Arnold W., 3 Lienau Place, Jersey City, N.J.
Reller, Theodore L., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Remmers, Herman, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
Remon, Marion E., Dir. Elem. Educ., Public Schools, Melrose, Mass.
Renard, John N., Oxnard Union High School, Oxnard, Calif.
Renouf, Edna M., Prin., Scenic Hills School, Springfield, Pa.
Resek, E. Frederick, Principal, Bridge Elem. School, Chicago, Ill.
Reuter, George S., Jr., Head, Dept. of Educ., Arkansas A. & M. Col., College
    Heights, Ark.
Reynolds, James W., Col. of Educ., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Reynolds, Maynard C., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Rhode, Jerome E., Prin., High School, Milaca, Minn.
Rhodes, L. H., Supt. of Schools, Tucumcari, N.M.
Rice, Arthur H., Mang. Editor, *Nation's Schools,* Chicago, Ill.
Rice, Ralph Samuel, Supv. Prin., North Hills Joint Schls., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rice, Roy C., Dept. of Educ., Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz.
Rice, Wilfrid E., County Superintendent of Schools, Jacksonville, Ill.
Richardson, L. S., Sup., A. & M. Consolidated Schls., College Station, Tex.
Richardson, Orvin T., Prof. of Educ., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
Richey, Herman G., Dept. of Educ., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Rider, Chester G., Superintendent of Schools, Concord, Ark.
Ridgway, Helen A., State Dept. of Educ., Hartford, Conn.
Riedel, Mark T., Superintendent, School Dist. 41, Glen Ellyn, Ill.
Riethmiller, Gorton, 12541 Second Ave., Highland Park, Mich.
Riggs, Edwon L., 2802 E. McDowell St., Phoenix, Ariz.
Rikkola, V. John, Dept. of Educ., State Teachers College, Salem, Mass.
Riley, T. M., Principal, Palms Junior High School, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rinsland, Henry D., Dept. of Educ., University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
Riordan, Sister Dorothy Marie, College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station, N.J.
Risinger, Robert G., Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.
Risk, Thomas M., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D.
Ritchie, Harold S., Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Paterson, N.J.
Ritter, Elmer L., Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Ritter, John M., Editor-in-Chief, L. W. Singer Co., Inc., Syracuse, N.Y.
Rivlin, Harry N., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Roach, Stephen F., Man. Editor, *Eastern School Law Review,* Jersey City, N.J.
Robbins, Edward T., Supt., Alamo Heights School Dist., San Antonio, Tex.
Robbins, Irving, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Roberson, James A., Prin., Lamar and Valley View Schools, Abilene, Tex.
Roberts, J. B., Head, Dept. of Educ., West Texas State College, Canyon, Tex.
Roberts, L. A., Superintendent, Dallas County Schools, Dallas, Tex.
Robertson, Minns S., Col. of Educ., Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
Robertson, Walter J., Superintendent of City Schools, Las Vegas, N.M.
Robinson, C. H., Supt. of Schools, Camrose, Alba.
Robinson, Cliff, 561 Rose St., Salem, Ore.
Robinson, Darrol E., Plymouth Tchrs. College, Plymouth, N.H.
Robinson, Mrs. Helen M., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Robinson, Joseph R., Southeastern Baptist Theol. Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C.
Robinson, Ross Newman, Supt., Dohyns-Bennett High School, Kingsport, Tenn.
Robinson, Roy E., Superintendent of Schools, Ferndale, Mich.
Robinson, Thomas L., Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Robinson, William McK., Western State College, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Roblee, Dana B., Fed. Civil Defense Adm., Washington, D.C.
Rodemich, Eugene A., Maplewood School, R.R. 2, East St. Louis, Ill.
Rodriguez-Diaz, M., Alfred University, Alfred, N.Y.
Roeder, Jesse N., Supt. of Schools, Palmerton, Pa.
Roenigk, Elise Mae, R.D. No. 1, Box 43, Cabot, Pa.
Roesch, Winston L., 143 Bostwick Ave. N.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Rogers, John D., Prin., Mt. Lebanon Elem. Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rogers, Mother V., Dean, Duchesene College, Omaha, Neb.
Rogers, Virgil M., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Rohan, William, Asst. Prin., Columbus School, Chicago, Ill.
Rohrbach, Q. A. W., Pres., State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pa.
Rollins, William B., Jr., 7772 Otto Street, Downey, Calif.
Rollins, Willis R., Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, Conn.
Romano, Louis, 1600 East Bluff Blvd., Shorewood, Wis.
Rooney, Edward B., Exec. Dir., Jesuit Educ. Assn., New York, N.Y.
Rose Miriam, Sister, Holy Name College, Spokane, Wash.
Rosebrock, Allan F., Dept. of Educ., New York State Col., Albany, N.Y.
Rosemarie Julie, Sister, Educ. Dept., Col. of Notre Dame, Belmont, Calif.
Rosenthal, Alan G., 352 North Columbus Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
Ross, Cecil L., University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Roth, Bernard, 180 East 163rd St., Bronx, N.Y.
Roth, Bernice, Dir., Test Serv., No. Ill. State Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Rothwell, Angus B., Superintendent of Schools, Manitowoc, Wis.
Rousseve, Charles B., Principal, Johnson Locett School, New Orleans, La.
Rowland, Sydney V., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rowley, Judge K., Dept. of Educ., Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.
Rowntree, Urwin, Dir. of Educ., Brown and Sharpe Mfg. Co., Providence, R.I.
Roye, Leon Stansbury, Prin., Havre de Grace Consolidated Sch., Havre de
    Grace, Md.
Ruark, Henry C., Jr., Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Rubinstein, Samuel R., 6 Stuyvesant Oval, Stuyvesant Town, New York, N.Y.
Rucker, Thomas J., Prin., Sigel School, St. Louis, Mo.
Ruckman, Stanley V., Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Ore.
Ruddell, Arden K., San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.
Rudman, Herbert C., Sch. of Educ., University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
Rudolf, Kathleen Brady, Monroe High School, Rochester, N.Y.
Rugg, Earl U., Head, Div. of Educ., Colorado State Col. of Educ., Greeley, Colo.
Rugh, Douglas, Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, Conn.
Rugh, Dwight, USOM-Israel, c/o American Embassy, Tel Aviv, Israel
Ruidl, P. F., Principal, John Hay School, Seattle, Wash.
Rulon, Phillip J., Peabody House, 13 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
Ruman, Edward L., Dept. of Tchg., Iowa State Tchrs. College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Rumsey, Mary H., Hannibal-LaGrange College, College Heights, Hannibal, Mo.
Ruppert, Ethel C., Essex Elementary School, Baltimore, Md.
Russel, John H., Dean, Shimer College, Mount Carroll, Ill.
Russell, David H., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Russell, Earle S., Superintendent of Schools, Windsor, Conn.
Russell, Edward J., Superintendent of Schools, Pittsfield, Mass.
Russell, James L., Dean, Grad. Div., West Texas State College, Canyon, Tex.
Russell, John Dale, Chancellor and Exec. Sec., Bd. of Educ. Fin., Santa Fe, N.M.
Rutherford, Harry B., Prin., Booker T. Washington High School, Columbia, S.C.
Ryan, Carl J., Dean, Tchrs. Col., Athenaeum of Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio
Ryan, Francis A., Sch. of Educ., Fordham University, New York, N.Y.
Ryan, W. Carson, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Ryans, David G., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Ryder, Raymond R., Div. of Educ., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

Sachs, Moses B., Rabbi, Am Echod Synagogue, Waukegan, Ill.
Sailer, T. H. P., 219 Walnut St., Engelwood, N.J.
St. Lawrence, Francis, 7102 Vanport Ave., Whittier, Calif.
St. Lawrence, Mother, Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pa.
Salerno, Salvatore W., 222 Rutledge Ave., East Orange, N.J.
Salinger, Herbert E., 2933 Sunrise Dr., Napa, Calif.
Salmons, George B., Plymouth Teachers College, Plymouth, N.H.
Salsbury, Jerome C., Dir. of Curric., Board of Educ., Bloomfield, N.J.
Salser, Alden, Prin., Horace Mann Jr. High School, Wichita, Kan.
Salten, David G., Supt. of Schools, Long Beach, N.Y.
Salwak, Stanley F., Div. of Phys. Educ., Univ. of Mass., Amherst, Mass.
Samonte, Soledad E., Philippine Normal College, Manila, Philippines
Sampson, William, Principal, Henry B. Whitehorne High School, Verona, N.J.
Samson, Gordon E., Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D.C.
Samson, Ruth D., 432 S. Curson Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Sand, Ole, Dir., Curric. Res. Proj., Sch. of Nursing, Univ. of Wash., Seattle, Wash.
Sanders, Richard H., 10639 Drew St., Chicago, Ill.
Sanders, William J., Supt. of Schools, Springfield, Mass.
Sanderson, Arnold T., Principal, High School, Worthington, Minn.
Sanford, Helen M., Principal, Haven School, Evanston, Ill.
Santistevan, Bailey J., Co-ordinator of Schools, Bingham Canyon, Utah
Santopolo, Michael V., Lang. Arts Co-ordinator, Public Schools, Woodmere, N.Y.
Sartain, Harry W., Dir. of Curric. & Research, Roseville Schls., St. Paul, Minn.
Satlow, I. David, Thomas Jefferson High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Saunders, Carleton M., Supt., Bridgewater Township Schools, Raritan, N.J.
Saunders, Paul A., 309 Albion St., Wakefield, Mass.
Saunders, Raymond J., Ramcoca Valley Reg. High School, Mount Holly, N.J.
Sausjord, Gunnar, 1366 Fifth Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Sauvain, Walter H., Dept. of Educ., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
Sawin, Philip Q., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Saylor, Charles F., Superintendent of Schools, Jeanette, Pa.
Saylor, Galen, Dept. of Educ., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Scales, Mrs. Cornelia, St. Edmund's Parochial School, Chicago, Ill.
Scanlan, William J., Principal, Central High School, St. Paul, Minn.
Scarborough, Clarence C., Sch. of Educ., North Carolina State Col., Raleigh, N.C.
Scarf, Robert C., Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
Scates, Douglas E., American Social Hygiene Association, New York, N.Y.
Scharf, Louis, 570 Lefferts Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Schenke, Lahron H., Dept. of Educ., Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
Schettler, John D., Isaac School, Phoenix, Ariz.
Schlegel, Miriam A., Dept. of Educ., Juaniata College, Huntington, Pa.
Schlichting, Harry F., DePaul University, Chicago, Ill.
Schmidt, Austin G., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Loyola Univ., Chicago, Ill.
Schmidt, Clifford L., Principal, Alma Clay Sch., Chariton, Iowa
Schmidt, L. G. H., Headmaster, Interm. H.S., Kandos, New South Wales
Schmidt, Milton W., Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Ill.
Schmidt, Ralph L. W., Box 7703, University Station, Baton Rouge, La.
Schmidt, William S., County Superintendent of Schools, Upper Marlboro, Md.
Schmitt, Irvin H., 4808 South Thirtieth St., Arlington, Va.
Schneider, Bernhard W., Supt. of Rural Educ., Winsted, Conn.
Schnepple, Stanley O., Supt. of Schools, Palo Alto, Calif.
Schnitzen, Joseph P., 1334 Monroe St., N.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Schoeller, Arthur W., Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Schoolcraft, Arthur A., West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W.Va.
Schooler, Virgil E., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Schooling, H. W., Supt. of Schools, North Kansas City, Mo.
Schor, Martin, G., Westinghouse Vocational High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Schott, M. S., Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg, Mo.
Schreiber, Herman, 80 Clarkson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Schrupp, M. H., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Schueler, Herbert, Dept. of Educ., Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.

Schultz, Frederick, Box 931, G.P.O., New York, N.Y.
Schulz, Theodore G., 1420 Sixth Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Schunert, Jim R., San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.
Schunk, Russell J., Lib. Div., State Dept. of Educ., St. Paul, Minn.
Schutz, Richard E., 2325 Myrtle Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Schutz, Seymour, 246 West End Ave., New York, N.Y.
Schuyler, Helen K., Kansas State Tchrs. College, Pittsburg, Kan.
Schwada, Paul L., Dean, Olivet Nazarene College, Kankakee, Ill.
Schwartz, Mrs. A. R., Dir., Jewish Center Pre-School, Columbus, Ohio
Schwartz, Alfred, Dept. of Educ., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Schwartz, John C., Dept. of Educ., Los Angeles State Col., Los Angeles, Calif.
Schwartz, William P., Principal, Caton School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Schwarzenberger, Alfred J., Jefferson School, Medford, Wis.
Schwiering, O. C., Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
Scobey, Mary-Margaret, Sch. of Educ., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Scott, Cecil Winfield, New Haven State Teachers College, New Haven, Conn.
Scott, Frances A., State Dept. of Education, Atlanta, Ga.
Scott, Guy, 919 Oxford Dr., Emporia, Kan.
Scott, Helen Elizabeth, Rhode Island College of Education, Providence, R.I.
Scott, Jeanne E., Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg, Mo.
Scott, Mildred C., Dir., Div. of Elem. Educ., Parma, Cleveland, Ohio
Scott, Owen, College of Educ., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Scott, Walter W., Supt. of Schools, Holland, Mich.
Seagers, Paul W., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Seagoe, May V., Sch. of Educ., University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Sears, J. B., Professor Emeritus of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Seaton, Donald F., Supt. of Schools, Boone, Iowa
Seay, C. W., Principal, Dunbar High School, Lynchburg, Va.
Seay, Maurice F., Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.
Sechler, Hazel, 800 West Eighth St., Silver City, N.M.
Sechriest, E. E., Principal, Ensley High School, Birmingham, Ala.
Seegers, J. Conrad, President, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.
Segner, Esther F., Mississippi State College, State College, Miss.
Sehmann, H. R., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Seidel, Vaughn D., Supt., Alameda County Schools, Oakland, Calif.
Seidlin, Joseph, Dean, Grad. School, Alfred University, Alfred, N.Y.
Selby, June, Supv. of Grades, Board of Education, Watertown, N.Y.
Selke, Erich, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.
Selleck, E. R., Supt. of Schools, Dist. 98, Berwyn, Ill.
Sellman, William N., Asst. Supt. of Schools, St. Louis, Mo.
Senour, Alfred C., 4133 Ivy Street, East Chicago, Ind.
Serviss, Trevor K., Editor-in-Chief, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, Mass.
Setzepfandt, A. O. H., Asst. Supt. in chg. of Elem. Educ., Tulsa, Okla.
Seubert, Eugene E., Dept. of Educ., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
Seville, George C., 134 Newcomb Road, Tenafly, N.J.
Sewell, Nelson B., Principal, Salinas Union High School, Salinas, Calif.
Sexton, Wray E., 23 Hoffman St., Maplewood, N.J.
Seyfert, Warren C., Milwaukee Country Day School, Milwaukee, Wis.
Shack, Jacob H., Asst. Supt., Curr. Div., Board of Educ., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Shales, J. M., Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.
Shane, Harold G., Sch. of Educ., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Shannon, Ernest B., Dean of Students, Bethany-Peniel College, Bethany, Okla.
Shaplin, Judson T., 112 Avon Hill Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Sharlip, Lou N., Principal, Ludlow School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Shattuck, George E., Prin., Norwich Free Academy, Norwich, Conn.
Shaw, Archibald B., Supt. of Schools, Scarsdale, N.Y.
Shay, Carleton B., 12567 Everglade St., Venice, Calif.
Shea, James T., Dir. of Research, School Dist., San Antonio, Tex.
Shea, Joseph J., 67 East Main St., Fredonia, N.Y.
Sheehan, Rosemary, Prin., Woodrow Wilson Jr. High School, Tulsa, Okla.
Sheets, Mrs. Margaret G., Dept. of Educ., Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.

Sheldon, Muriel, Supv. of Counseling, Div. of Sec. Educ., Los Angeles, Calif.
Shelly, Colsin R., Principal, Lafayette School, Lancaster, Pa.
Shelton, Nollie W., Superintendent of Schools, Swan Quarter, N.C.
Shelton, William E., Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.
Shepard, Robert H., Kottarrakara, Tranvancore, South India
Shepard, Samuel, Jr., Dir., Elem. Educ., Board of Education, St. Louis, Mo.
Shepherd, Gerald Q., Dept. of Educ., Los Angeles State Col., Los Angeles, Calif.
Shepherd, Lou A., Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Sherer, Lorraine, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Sheridan, Marion S., Head. Eng. Dept., High School, New Haven, Conn.
Shine, Joseph B., 9238 South Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
Shipp, Frederic T., San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Shoemaker, F. L., 8 McGuffey Lane, Athens, Ohio
Short, James E., Dept. of Educ., Montana State Univ., Missoula, Mont.
* Sias, A. B., Professor Emeritus, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Sickles, F. J., 296 Livingston Ave., New Brunswick, N.J.
Siebert, Edna M., Principal, Grant Elementary School, Chicago, Ill.
Siebrecht, Elmer B., 623 Fifth St., Ames, Iowa
Siewers, Grace L., Librarian, Salem College, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Silas, Gordon, Director, Teacher Educ., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
Sillings, Ada O., Asst. Supv., Kgtn. and Prim. Div., Bd. of Educ., Louisville, Ky.
Silvern, Leonard Charles, 16 Mountainview Ave., Slingerlands, N.Y.
Simmons, I. F., Supt., Jefferson County Bd. of Educ., Birmingham, Ala.
Simmons, Mary McKee, Dept. of Educ. and Psych., Centre College, Danville, Ky.
Simmons, Patricia C., Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.
Simon, Arthur M., 123 Lott Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Simon, Donald L., Principal, High School, Bloomington, Ind.
Simpson, Alfred D., Grad. Sch. of Educ., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
Simpson, Ray H., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Sims, Harold W., 6426 South Vernon Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Sims, Verner M., Col. of Educ., University of Alabama, University, Ala.
Sinclair, J. H., Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Singleton, Gordon G., 2104 Gorman Ave., Waco, Tex.
Singleton, Stanton J., Col. of Educ., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Sininger, Harlan, New Mexico Highlands Univ., Las Vagas, N.M.
Skaggs, Darcy A., Dist. Supt., Artesia Sch. Dist., Artesia, Calif.
Skard, Aase Gruda, Fjellyn 2, Lysaker, Norway
Skatzes, D. H., Old Washington High School, Old Washington, Ohio
Skelton, Claude N., Asst. Prin., Soldan-Blewett High School, St. Louis, Mo.
Skogsberg, Alfred H., Principal, Bloomfield Junior High School, Bloomfield, N.J.
Slay, Ronald J., Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Sletten, R. Signe, Supv., Lab. Sch., State Tchers. Col., Mankato, Minn.
Sligo, Joseph R., 741 Melrose Ave., Apt. No. 1, Iowa City, Iowa
Sloan, Paul W., State Univ. College for Teachers, Buffalo, N.Y.
Slobetz, Frank, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn.
Small, Mrs. Turie E. Thornton, 554 South Campbell St., Daytona Beach, Fla.
Small, William Jack, Educ. Dept., Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.
Smallenburg, Harry W., Dir. of Research & Guid., County Schls., Los Angeles, Calif.
Smiley, Marjorie B., Hunter College, New York, N.Y.
Smith, Agnes Marie, Sister, Brescia College, Owensboro, Ky.
Smith, Ara K., Prin., Elston Jr. High School, Michigan City, Ind.
Smith, B. Othanel, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Ill., Urbana, Ill.
Smith, C. A., 7220 Lindell Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, Calvin S., 5705 South 1700 West, Murray, Utah
Smith, Dasil A., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Smith, Denis C., Provincial Inspector of Schools, Nelson, B.C., Canada
Smith, Dora V., 201 Burton Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Smith, Emmitt D., West Texas State Col., Canyon, Tex.
Smith, Gerald L., Superintendent of Schools, Trinidad, Colo.
Smith, Mrs. Gertrude S., 17786 Beaverland, Detroit, Mich.

Smith, Henry P., Fraser Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Smith, J. Edward, Regional Supt., Central Bucks Joint Schls., Doylestown, Pa.
Smith, Mrs. Josephine C., Dir. of Elem. Educ., Pub. Schls., Washington, D.C.
Smith, Kathryn H., Primary Supv., Southern Oregon College, Ashland, Ore.
*Smith, Lewis Wilbur. Deceased.
Smith, Linda C., Dept. of Educ., Cortland State Tchrs. Col., Cortland, N.Y.
Smith, Lloyd N., Dept. of Educ., Indiana State Teachers Col., Terre Haute, Ind.
Smith, Mrs. Marguerite B., Elem. Supv., Dept. of Education, Towson, Md.
Smith, Martha W., State Department of Education, Montgomery, Ala.
Smith, Mrs. Mary G., Vice-Prin., Madison Junior High School, Newark, N.J.
Smith, Menrie M., 1018 West 17th St., Anniston, Ala.
Smith, Nila B., Sch. of Educ., N.Y. Univ., Washington Square, New York, N.Y.
Smith, Paul E., Dir. of Curric., Board of Educ., Rochester, N.Y.
* Smith, Raymond A., Sch. of Educ., Texas Christian Univ., Fort Worth, Tex.
Smith, Russell B., Dept. of Educ., Marshall College, Huntington, W.Va.
Smith, Russell W., Principal, Campbell School, East Moline, Ill.
Smith, Ruth L., Dir., Student Tchg., State Teachers College, Towson, Md.
Smith, Sara E., Dept. of Educ., Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
Smith, Stephen E., East Texas Baptist College, Marshall, Tex.
Smith, T. O., Superintendent, City Schools, Ogden, Utah
Smith, Vernon G., Winchester Rd., New London, Conn.
Smith, W. Holmes, El Camino College, Calif.
Smith, Walter D., Dept. of Psych., Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
Smither, Ethel L., 2906 Floyd Ave., Richmond, Va.
Smotherman, T. Edwin, Col. of Educ., W. Virginia Univ., Morgantown, W. Va.
Snader, Daniel W., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Snarr, O. W., Pres., State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minn.
Snarr, Otto W., Jr., Supv., Extension Classes, Univ. of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
Snarr, Mrs. Ruth G., County Supt. of Schls., Montgomery City, Mo.
Snavely, Francis B., Principal, West Side High School, Newark, N.J.
Snider, Edwina J., Co-ordin., Tchr. Trng., Occidental Col., Los Angeles, Calif.
Snider, Hervon L., Sch. of Educ., University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho
Snively, Donald L., Supervising Principal, Media, Pa.
Snyder, Harvey B., Dept. of Educ., Pasadena College, Pasadena, Calif.
Snyder, Ruth C., Elem. Supv., Arcade Central School, Arcade, N.Y.
Snyder, Wayne T., 4247 Bellefontaine Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Sochor, E. Elona, 1415 Clearview St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Sodt, Dorothy C., Tchg. Prin., North School, Arlington Heights, Ill.
Soloway, Jack, 2436 North Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Sonstegard, Manford, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Sorenson, Helmer E., Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.
Southall, Maycie, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
Southerlin, W. B., State Educational Finance Comm., Columbia, S.C.
Sowards, G. Wesley, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Spain, Clarence H., Principal, Binford Jr. High School, Richmond, Va.
Spalding, Willard B., Genl. Ext. Div., Oregon Syst. of Higher Educ., Portland, Ore.
Spalke, E. Pauline, Lawrence Road, Salem Depot, N.H.
Sparling, Edward J., President, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill.
Spaulding, Seth, The Ford Foundation, P.O. Box 1397, Rangoon, Burma
Spaulding, William E., Vice-Pres., Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.
Speer, Hugh W., Dept. of Educ., University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
Speer, Ross B., Superintendent of Schools, Redlands, Calif.
Speight, Robert L., East Texas Baptist College, Marshall, Tex.
Spence, Ralph B., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
Spencer, E. M., Dept. of Educ., Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif.
Spencer, Peter L., Harper Hall, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif.
Spitz, Thomas A., Sch. of Educ., City College, New York, N.Y.
Spitzer, Herbert, Univ. Elem. Sch., State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Spooner, William M., 750 Laau Place, Honolulu, Hawaii
Springer, Robert L., Asst. Supt., Public Schools, Indianapolis, Ind.
Springman, John H., Superintendent of Schools, Glenview, Ill.

Sprowles, Lee, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Stack, Mrs. Thelma D., Milwaukee State Tchrs. Col., Milwaukee, Wis.
Stahlecker, Lotar, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
Staiger, Ralph C., Dir., Read. Clinic, Mississippi Southern Col., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Stalnaker, John M., 1075 Elm St., Winnetka, Ill.
Stanford, Madge, Dept. of Educ., Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
Stapay, Peter P., Dean, Panzer College of Phys. Educ. and Hyg., East Orange, N.J.
Staple, Flora M., University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch, Duluth, Minn.
Stapleton, Edward G., Superintendent of County Schools, Towson, Md.
Starner, Norman Dean, Wyalusing, Pa.
Stathers, A. J., Prin., Jane Lew High School, Jane Lew, W.Va.
Stauffer, Russell G., Dir., Read. Clinic, Univ. of Delaware, Newark, Del.
Stearns, Troy L., Dept. of Elem. Educ., Mich. State Col., East Lansing, Mich.
Stecklein, John Ellsworth, 211 Burton Hall, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Steel, Harry J., State Univ. College for Teachers, Buffalo, N.Y.
Steel, Wade A., Superintendent, Leyden High School, Franklin Park, Ill.
Steele, H. L., Head, Dept. of Educ., Idaho State College, Pocatello, Idaho
Stegall, Alma L., Dept. of Educ., Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Stegeman, William H., Dir. of Res., Educ. Center, City Schls., San Diego, Calif.
Stein, Michael W., Lee H. Kellogg School, Falls Village, Conn.
Steinberg, Warren L., 4418 Corinth Ave., Culver City, Calif.
Steinemann, Kathryn P., Minster Public Schools, Minster, Ohio
Steinhauer, Milton H., Sch. of Educ., Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N.J.
Steininger, Earl W., 515 6th Ave., N.E., Independence, Iowa
Steinke, E. L., Superintendent of Schools, Selah, Wash.
Stellhorn, A. C., Lutheran Schools, St. Louis, Mo.
Stephan, Paul M., 100 Lincoln Ave., Riverside, Ill.
Stephens, J. M., Dept. of Educ., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
Stern, Mrs. Rose R., 451 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N.J.
Sternberg, William N., Prin., Public School 611, Bronx, New York, N.Y.
Sternlieb, Ida B., 234 East 15th St., New York, N.Y.
Stetson, G. A., Superintendent of Schools, West Chester, Pa.
Steudler, Mary M., Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, Conn.
Stevens, Glenn Z., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Stevens, Godfrey D., Cincinnati Pub. Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio
Stewart, A. W., 402 South Willow St., Kent, Ohio
Stewart, Charles T., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Stewart, Frederick H., Prin., I. A. Sheppard School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stewart, Glen C., Dept. of Music, Alma College, Alma, Mich.
Stickler, W. Hugh, Dir., Educ. Res., Florida Sta. Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
Stickney, Edith P., Librarian, Midland Col. Library, Fremont, Neb.
Stidwell, Charles A., Prin., Sandpoint Junior High School, Sandpoint, Idaho
Stielstra, William, History Dept., Alma College, Alma, Mich.
Stienstra, Clifford C., Principal, High School, Fertile, Minn.
Steir, Lealand D., Dept. of Educ., Santa Barbara Coll., Goleta, Calif.
Stoddard, George D., 1041 Kingston Rd., Princeton, N.J.
Stoke, Stuart M., Head, Educ. Dept., Mount Holyoke Col., South Hadley, Mass.
Stokes, Maurice S., Savannah State College, Savannah, Ga.
Stollberg, Robert, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Stolt, Edna B., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Stone, Gladys, Supt., Monterey County Schools, Salinas, Calif.
Stonebraker, W. Chester, Principal, Green School, Dist. 5, Roseburg, Ore.
Stonehocker, D. Doyle, Dean, Junior College, Burlington, Iowa
Stordahl, Kalmer E., Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Ark.
Stottler, Richard Husted, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Stoughton, Robert W., Consultant, State Dept. of Educ., Hartford, Conn.
Stover, Frank B., County Supt. of Schools, Newark, N.J.
Strahlman, Bertha E., Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Strand, William H., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Strang, Ruth, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Stratemeyer, Florence, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Stratton, L. T., Dept. of Educ., Findlay College, Findlay, Ohio
Strawe, Walter V., Principal, Lowell School, Chicago, Ill.
* Strayer, George D., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Strayer, George D., Jr., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Strem, Bruce E., 222 West Gardner Street, Long Beach, Calif.
Streng, Alice, Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Strickland, C. G., Sch. of Educ., Baylor University, Waco, Tex.
Strickler, Robert E., 3538 Halliday, St. Louis, Mo.
Stroud, J. B., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Stuart, Alden T., Superintendent of Schools, Wellsville, N.Y.
Stuart, James L., Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N.C.
Stubbs, G. T., Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.
Stumpf, W. A., Box 6126 College Station, Durham, N.C.
Sugden, W. E., Supt. of Schools, River Forest, Ill.
Sullivan, Bernice W., Read. Dir., Cabell County Schls., Huntington, W.Va.
Sullivan, Edward A., Pres., State Teachers College, Salem, Mass.
Sullivan, Helen Blair, Sch. of Educ., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Sullivan, Joseph V., 29 Salem Way, Yonkers, N.Y.
Sun, Huai Chin, Chm., Grad. Div. of Educ., Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.
Sundaram, M. S., Educ. Secy., Embassy of India, Washington, D.C.
Supernau, C. J., College of L. A., Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
Suttell, Lloyd, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedros, Puerto Rico
Sutton, Elizabeth, Granville, Tenn.
Swann, Reginald L., Teachers Col. of Conn., New Britain, Conn.
Swanson, Herbert L., Principal, City Schools, Manhattan Beach, Calif.
Swartout, S. G., State Teachers College, Brockport, N.Y.
Swartz, David J., Adm. Asst. to Supt. of New York City Schools, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Swearingen, Mildred, Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
Swenson, Esther J., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Alabama, University, Ala.
Swenson, Lloyd G., Adams State College, Alamosa, Colo.
Swertfeger, Floyd F., Longwood College, Farmville, Va.
Swift, G. C., Supt. of Schools, Watertown, Conn.
Swift, Leonard F., Col. of Educ., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Swinehart, George B., Supv. Prin., Boyertown Pub. Schls., Boyertown, Pa.
Sylla, Ben A., Supt. of Schools, Chicago Heights, Ill.

Taba, Hilda, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif.
Tabaka, Victor P., Sch. of Bus. Admin., Emory Univ., Emory University, Ga.
Tadena, Tomas, Rogers Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Taillon, Brother Leopold, Dean of Educ., St. Joseph Univ., New Brunswick, Can.
Tait, Arthur T., 3746 Lankershim Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.
Tallman, R. W., 2024 Avalon Road, Des Moines, Iowa
Tanner, B. William, 5241 Melvin Dr., Toledo, Ohio
Tanruther, E. M., Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Tapp, A. G., 42 Madeline St., Burwood, E. 13, Victoria, Australia
Tapper, Inga B., 348 Forest Dr., Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Tarbell, R. W., 5117 West Washington Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.
Taylor, Bob E., State Dept. of Vocational Education, Phoenix, Ariz.
Taylor, C. E., Principal, Central High School, Sioux City, Iowa
Taylor, George A., 6059 North Albany Street, Chicago, Ill.
Taylor, L. O., Dept. of Educ., University of Omaha, Omaha, Neb.
Taylor, Marvin J., 300 Washington Rd., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Taylor, Ralph, Audio-Visual Co-ord., San Diego County Schools, San Diego, Calif.
Taylor, Wayne, Denton Senior High School, Denton, Tex.
Taylor, William H., Superintendent of Schools, Vicksburg, Mich.
Tead, Ordway, 49 East Thirty-third St., New York, N.Y.
Tempero, Howard E., Dean, Nebraska State Teachers College, Wayne, Neb.
Templin, Mildred C., Inst. of Child Welfare, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Tengquist, Howard W., Research Chemist, Western Condensing Co., Appleton,
     Wis.
Tenney, Charles D., Vice-President, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.

Ter Keurst, Arthur J., Central Mo. State Tchrs. Col., Warrensburg, Mo.
Ternstrom, Alice H., County Superintendent of Schools, Chester, Mont.
Terrill, Mrs. Pearl L., Dunbar High School, Arcadia, Okla.
Terry, Paul W., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Alabama, University, Ala.
Tetz, Henry E., Superintendent of Schools, Dist. 13C, Independence, Ore.
Thayer, H. C., 2259 Fox Ave., Madison, Wis.
Theisen, W. W., Asst. Superintendent of Schools, Milwaukee, Wis.
Thevaos, Deno G., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.
Thissen, Mollie, R. 2, Ellendale, Minn.
Thomann, Don F., Principal, Athens High School, Athens, Ohio
Thomas, Dorothy B., 2111 Salisbury St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Thomas, George Isaiah, Principal, Campus School, New Paltz, N.Y.
Thomas, R. Murray, Dept. of Educ., State Teachers College, Brockport, N.Y.
Thomas, Ruth H., N. Y. State Col. of Home Econ., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
Thomas, Ruth M., Dir., Div. of Educ., Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio
Thompson, Anton, 715 Locust Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Thompson, Charles H., Dean, Graduate School, Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.
Thompson, G. E., Superintendent of Schools, St. Charles, Ill.
Thompson, Olive L., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.
Thompson, Orrin G., Supt., Public Schools, Elgin, Ill.
Thompson, Ralph H., Western Washington College of Educ., Bellingham, Wash.
Thompson, Ray, Counselor-Trainer, North Carolina College, Durham, N.C.
Thomson, Procter, Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Thorndike, Robert L., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Thorne, Edmund H., Supt. of Schools, West Hartford, Conn.
Thorngate, J. H., Vice-Principal, Senior High School, Eau Claire, Wis.
Thornton, James W., Jr., Vice-Pres., Orange Coast Coll., Costa Mesa, Calif.
Thorp, Marion A., Prin., Adaire-Chandler Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thorp, Mary T., Dir., Henry Barnard School, Providence, R.I.
Threlkeld, A. L., South Londonderry, Vt.
Threlkeld, Curtis H., 219 South Orange Ave., South Orange, N.J.
Thurston, Edmund W., Supt., School Dept., Westwood, Mass.
Thurston, Flora M., 10051 Sunset Ridge Dr., Laguna Beach, Calif.
Tidwell, Robert E., Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Tiedeman, Herman R., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Tiffany, Burton C., Asst. Supt., Chula Vista City Schls., Chula Vista, Calif.
Tillinghast, Charles C., Ridgefield Road, Wilton, Conn.
Tilton, J. W., Dept. of Educ., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Tingle, Mary J., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Tingleff, Howard C., Principal, Community High School, Crystal Lake, Ill.
Tinker, Miles A., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Tinsley, Lacy B., Principal, West End High School, Fayetteville, Tenn.
Tinson, John T., Lynwood High School, Lynwood, Calif.
Tireman, L. S., Educ. Dept., Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M.
Tong, Howard F., Principal, Tillamook High School, Tillamook, Ore.
Tongaw, Margaret, 2720 Manhattan Ave., Manhattan Beach, Calif.
Toops, Herbert A., Dept. of Psych., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Topp, Robert F., Dean, Grad. Sch., National College of Education, Evanston, Ill.
Torrey, Robert D., Sec. Curr. Co-ord., Plumas Univ. Sch. Dist., Quincy, Calif.
Totten, W. Fred, Pres., Flint Jr. College, Flint, Mich.
Townsend, Edward Arthur, 525 East Eighty-ninth St., New York, N.Y.
Townsend, Loran G., Dean, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Townsend, Virgil L., Kathleen High School, Kathleen, Fla.
Trabue, M. R., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Penn. State College, State College, Pa.
Tracy, L. L., Jr., Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kan.
Traister, Harold W., Dept. of Educ., State Tchrs. College, California, Pa.
Trapanese, Menna G., 18 Westervelt Place, Jersey City, N.J.
Travelstead, Chester C., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
Travis, Vaud A., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Northwestern State Col., Tahlequa, Okla.
Traxler, Arthur E., Educational Records Bureau, New York, N.Y.
Treacy, John P., 2111 North Fifty-ninth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Tremblay, Francis W., Apt. 10, Bldg. 313, Stanford Village, Stanford, Calif.
Trescott, B. M., Kirk Lane, Media, Pa.
Trible, Dierdre, Supv., Special Educ., Public Schools, Evansville, Ind.
Triggs, Frances O., 419 West 119th St., New York, N.Y.
Trillingham, C. C., County Supt. of Schls., Los Angeles, Calif.
Trione, Verdun, 838 Franquette Ave., Santa Rosa, Calif.
Troth, Harold R., Prin., Jane Addams School, Dayton, Ohio
Trout, David M. *Deceased.*
Troutwein, Marvin E., Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn.
Trow, William Clark, School of Educ., Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Troxel, O. L., Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.
Trump, J. Lloyd, Col. of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Trusal, Maurice E., Dir. of Curriculum, Public Schools, Williamsport, Pa.
Tudyman, Al, Dir. Spec. Educ., Oakland Public Schools, Oakland, Calif.
Tully, Glover E., Dir., Voc. Guid. & Place., Fla. State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.
Tumlinson, J. E., Box 249, Lampasas, Tex.
Turner, Egbert M., Lake Ronkonkoma, L.I., N.Y.
Turner, Howard, Southern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.
Turner, Rex Allwin, Pres., Alabama Christian Col., Montgomery, Ala.
Turner, Robert B., Coral Gables High School, Coral Gables, Fla.
Tydings, R. N., Hobbs Municipal Schools, Hobbs, N.M.
Tyler, Fred T., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Tyler, I. Keith, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Tyler, Ralph W., Dir., Center for Adv. Study in Behavioral Science, Menlo Park, Calif.
Tyson, George R., Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.

Ullrich, George, 42 Rowley St., Rochester, N.Y.
Umberger, Willis H., State Dept. of Education, Norwich, Conn.
Umstattd, J. G., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Underwood, Mrs. Anna, Fairview High School, Fairview, Okla.
Unger, Mrs. Lloyd G., 128 Barry Point Rd., Riverside, Ill.
Unruh, Adolph, Dept. of Educ., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Unzicker, Samuel P., Dept. of Educ., State Teachers Col., Paterson, N.J.

Vakil, K. S., 119 Marzleanabad, Andheri, Bombay, India
Valenti, J. J., Dept. of Educ., Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.
Valentine, E. A., Jr., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Van Campen, Marion, Head, Elem. Educ. Dept., Kent State Univ., Kent, Ohio
Vander Beke, George E., Registrar, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.
Vanderlinden, J. S., Supt. of Schools, Perry, Iowa
Vander Werf, Lester S., Dean, Col. of Educ., Northeastern University, Boston, Mass.
Van Dyke, L. A., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Van Loan, W. L., Supt. of Schools, Corvallis, Ore.
Van Ness, Carl C., Vice-Pres., Appleton-Century-Crofts Co., New York, N.Y.
Van Ness, Paul H., Prin., Central Ave. and Warren St. Schls., Newark, N.J.
Van Ormer, Edward B., Penn. State College, State College, Pa.
Van Patter, Vernon E., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Wisconsin State Coll., Superior, Wis.
Van Putten, M. W., Superintendent of Schools, Eveleth, Minn.
Van Wegenen, M. J., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Van Zwoll, James A., University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Varn, Guy L., Supt., City Schools, Columbia, S.C.
Vasche, J. Burton, Comm. of Educ., Denver, Colo.
Vasey, Hamilton G., Superintendent of Schools, Fargo, N.D.
Verseput, Robert F., Dover High School, Dover, N.J.
Vickers, Robert C., Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio
Vickery, Verna L., 714 East Thomas, Hammond, La.
Vikner, Carl F., 215 Burton Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Voelker, Paul H., Asst. Dir., Special Educ., Public Schls., Detroit, Mich.
Voirol, Eula C., 4927 Bell Ave., Kansas City, Mo.

Volberding, Eleanor, Dept. of Educ., No. Ill. State Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Von Schlichten, Erwin, Dept. of Psych., Union College, Schenectady, N.Y.
Votaw, Daniel C., 3535 Sterne St., San Diego, Calif.
Vredevoe, Lawrence E., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.

* Waddell, C. W., 1365 Midvale Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Waggoner, Sherman G., Teachers College of Conn., New Britain, Conn.
Wagner, Carl E., 7421 Zephyr Place, Maplewood, Mo.
Wagner, Robert W., Dept. of Photography, Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio
Wagner, Victor H., 21 Minetta Court, Huntington, N.Y.
Wakeman, Seth, Dept. of Educ., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Walcott, Fred G., Univ. High School, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Waldron, Margaret L., St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind.
* Walker, E. T., Bigfork, Mont.
Walker, K. P., Supt. of Schools, Jackson, Miss.
Walker, Knox, Asst. Supt., Fulton County Schools, Atlanta, Ga.
Walker, Mrs. Virginia L., 2644 West Market St., Akron, Ohio
Wallace, Morris S., School of Educ., Oklahoma A. & M. Col., Stillwater, Okla.
Wallar, Gene A., San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.
Walsh, J. Hartt, Dean, Col. of Educ., Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
Walsh, Michael F., Commissioner of Educ., 205 Benefit St., Providence, R.I.
Walter, Raymond L., Box 201, Millbrook, Ala.
Walter, Robert B., Chief Deputy Supt., County Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Walther, Herbert K., Chm., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Walvoord, Anthony C., Box 2845, T.S.C.W. Station, Denton, Tex.
Wampler, W. Norman, Supt. of Schools, Bellflower, Calif.
Wanamaker, Pearl A., State Supt. of Public Instruction, Olympia, Wash.
Wandt, Edwin, Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif.
Ward, John H., Dept. of Educ., Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Ward, Ralph F., Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass.
Ward, W. H., Dir., Ext. Div., Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
Wardeberg, Helen, 108 Stone Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Warren, John S., Dir., Teacher Educ., Hendrix College, Conway, Ark.
Warriner, Clell C., Principal, Okmulgee High School, Okmulgee, Okla.
Warriner, David A., Louisiana College, Pineville, La.
Warwick, Raymond, Principal, Public School, Riverton, N.J.
Washburne, Carleton W., Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Washington, Booker T., Principal, Williston Ind. School, Wilmington, N.C.
Wasson, Margaret, 3705 University Blvd., Dallas, Tex.
Waters, E. Worthington, Maryland State College, Princess Anne, Md.
Watkin, Earl P. Deceased.
Watkins, Ralph K., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Watson, C. Hoyt, President, Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Wash.
Watson, E. H., East Texas Teachers College, Commerce, Tex.
Watson, N. E., Supt., Northfield Twp. High School, Northbrook, Ill.
Watson, Warren N., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Seattle Pacific Col., Seattle, Wash.
Watson, William C., 29 Woodstock Rd., Mt. Waverley, Victoria, Australia
Watt, John Stewart, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
Wattenberg, William W., Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Watts, B. C., School of Educ., Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
Watts, Morrison L., Dept. of Educ., Prov. of Alberta, Edmonton, Alba.
Weaver, David A., President, Shurtleff College, Alton, Ill.
Weaver, David O., 822 Weizmann Ave., San Antonio, Tex.
Weaver, Edward K., Sch. of Educ. Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Weaver, J. Fred, Sch. of Educ., Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
Weaver, P. C., 601 West Park Ave., State College, Pa.
Weber, Clarence A., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Conn., Storrs, Conn.
Weddington, Rachel T., Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Wegener, Frank Corliss, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Weida, Mrs. Ethelyn Y., Supv., Special Classes, Union H.S. Dist., Compton, Calif.
Weinrich, Ernest F., Asst. Supt., Public Schools, Schenectady, N.Y.

Weir, Thomas A., 4729 Oakridge, St. Louis, Mo.
Weisiger, Louise P., Dir. of Research, Public Schools, Richmond, Va.
Weiss, George D., Supv., Stud. Tchg., State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pa.
Welch, Carolyn M., 830 Chauncey Rd., Penn Valley, Narberth, Pa.
Welch, Cornelius A., Dean, Sch. of Educ., Bonaventure Col., Bonaventure, N.Y.
Welch, Earl E., Editor, Silver Burdette Co., New York, N.Y.
Welch, Eleanor W., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill.
Weldon, J. Elmer, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.
Wellck, Arthur Albert, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M.
Welling, Helen F., 333 East McWilliams St., Fon du Lac, Wis.
Wells, A. E., Superintendent, City Schools, Abilene, Tex.
Welsh, Walter C., Sch. of Ind. Art, New York, N.Y.
Wendt, Paul R., 241 Moline Dr., San Francisco, Calif.
Wenger, Roy E., International Christian University, Tokyo, Japan
Wenk, J. H., Sussex School, Shaker Heights, Ohio
Wente, Walter H., Academic Dean, St. John's Col., Winfield, Kan.
Wentz, Howard A., Supv. Prin., Nether Providence School Dist., Wellingford, Pa.
Wernick, Leo J., 258 North Leavitt St., Chicago, Ill.
Wesley, Charles H., Pres., Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio
Wesley, Edgar B., Box 1201, Los Altos, Calif.
West, Allan M., Exec. Secy., Utah Education Assn., Salt Lake City, Utah
West, Guy A., Pres., Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Calif.
West, Roscoe L., President, State Teachers College, Trenton, N.J.
West, William A., General College, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
West, William H., Superintendent of Schools, Belvidere, N.Y.
Westbrook, Charles H., 17 Towana Rd., Richmond, Va.
Westgaard, A. E., Principal, Pulaski High School, Milwaukee, Wis.
Westlund, Hildur L., 2015 Baxter Ave., Superior, Wis.
Westover, Frederick L., Box 1553, University, Ala.
Weyer, F. E., Dean, Hastings College, Hastings, Neb.
Wezeman, Frederick H., Pres., Northwestern Jr. Col., Orange City, Iowa
Wheat, H. G., Col. of Educ., West Virginia University, Morgantown, W.Va.
Wheat, Leonard B., Duluth Branch, Univ. of Minnesota, Duluth, Minn.
Wheeler, Bruce E., Asst. Supt. of Schools, Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, Eldon G., Hinsdale Twp. High School, Hinsdale, Ill.
Wheeler, Joseph A., Principal, Benjamin Franklin School, Miami, Fla.
Wheeler, Lester R., Dir., Read. Clinic, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
Whipple, Carl E., Superintendent, Sch. Dist. of Warren Borough, Warren, Pa.
Whipple, Earl G., Principal, Elmhurst Jr. High School, Elmhurst, Ill.
Whipple, Gertrude, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
Whisler, H. M., 292 East Broadway, Danville, Ind.
White, George L., Dir., Educ., Serv., Silver Burdette Co., New York, N.Y.
White, James, Hilliard High School, Bay City, Tex.
White, J. B., Dean, Col. of Educ., University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
White, Kenneth B., Dean of Instr., State Teachers Col., Paterson, N.J.
Whitehead, John A., Superintendent of Schools, Swampscott, Mass.
Whitehead, Willis A., 13124 Shaker Square, Cleveland, Ohio
Whitelaw, John B., Glen Hills, Rockville, Md.
Whitley, Paul N., Principal, Lord Byng Secondary School, Vancouver, B.C.
Whitson, Willie, State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo.
Whittier, C. Taylor, Dir. of Instr., Pinellas County Schools, Clearwater, Fla.
Whittlesey, James T., Prin., Forest Avenue High School, Dallas, Tex.
Wickes, Mrs. Una S., Counselor, Pasadena High School, Pasadena, Calif.
Wiggin, Richard G., Asst. State Supv. of Art Educ., Richmond, Va.
Wilburn, D. Banks, Dean, Tchrs. Col., Marshall College, Huntington, W.Va.
Wilcox, A. H., Registrar, Univ. of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Tex.
Wilcox, Frederick B., Principal, Davis Grammar Sch., Fall River, Mass.
Wilcox, G. B., Educ. & Psych. Dept., A. & M. College, College Station, Tex.
Willard, Robert L., Utica College, Utica, N.Y.
Wilkerson, H. Clifton, 542 Market St., Platteville, Wis.
Wilkinson, John A., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Wilks, William T., State Teachers College, Troy, Ala.
Willey, Ivan R., Supt. of Schools, Superior, Wyo.
Williams, Beatrice, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn.
Williams, Charles Albert, John Marshall Junior High School, Houston, Tex.
Williams, Chester Spring, North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.
* Williams, Claude L., 7423 Bennett Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Williams, Cyrus P., Wharton County Jr. College, Wharton, Tex.
Williams, Don G., Dir., Audio-Visual Center, Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y.
Williams, E. I. F., Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio
Williams, Fannie C., Principal, Valena C. Jones School, New Orleans, La.
Williams, Fountie N., Principal, Broadway School, Clarksburg, W.Va.
Williams, Frederick Allen, Dean, Grad. Sch., A. & T. College, Greensboro, N.C.
Williams, Harold A.,1260 Fairlawns Ave., Morgantown, W.Va.
Williams, Jacob T., Principal, Carver High School, Gadsden, Ala.
Williams, James Harry, Asst. Prin., Armstrong High School, Richmond, Va.
Williams, Maurice C., 520 Gayley Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Williams, Nat, Supt. of Schools, Lubbock, Tex.
Williams, Ralph R., 7427 Bennett Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Williams, W. Morris, San Francisco Unified Sch. Dist., San Francisco, Calif.
Williamson, E. C., Northeast High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Williamson, Horace, County Supervisor, El Dorado, Ark.
Williamson, Stanley E., Dept. of Sci. Educ., Oregon State Col., Corvallis, Ore.
Williamson, Walter W., 1820 Cromwood Rd., Baltimore, Md.
Wills, Benjamin G., 1550 Bellamy St., Santa Clara, Calif.
Willson, Gordon L., Supt. of Schools, Baraboo, Wis.
Wilson, David H., Lodi, N.Y.
Wilson, Frank T., Hunter College, New York, N.Y.
Wilson, George D., Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
Wilson, Mary C., Supv., Lincoln Parish Schools, Ruston, La.
Wilson, Merle A., Principal, Howe Elementary School, Des Moines, Iowa
Wilson, Raymond G., Principal, Murphy High School, Mobile, Ala.
Wilson, Russell E., Sch. Equip. Div., Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co., Chicago, Ill.
Wilson, William G., Supt., Elem. Dist. 8, Public Schools, Chicago, Ill.
Wiltse, Earl W., Supt. of Schools, Grand Island, Neb.
Winchell, Karl F., Exec. Secy., Wyoming Educ. Assn., Cheyenne, Wyo.
Windom, John Henry, Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Mo.
Winston, Ethna B., Head, Dept. of Educ., Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.
Wise, Joseph M., 108-14 65th Rd., Forest Hills, N.Y.
Wisseman, C. L., Dir., Col. of Educ., Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
Withall, John, Sch. of Educ., University of Delaware, Newark, Del.
Witherington, Henry C., Registrar, Belmont College, Nashville, Tenn.
Witt, Paul W. F., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Witte, Cyril M., Dept. of Educ., Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.
Wittman, Mrs. Carol, 73-20 Austin St., Forest Hills, L.I., N.Y.
Witty, Paul A., School of Educ., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Wixon, John L., Contra Costa Junior College, El Cerrito, Calif.
Wixted, William G., Hunter College, New York, N.Y.
Woelfel, Norman, Dir., Tchg. Aids Lab., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Woellner, Robert C., Dir., Voc. Guid. & Plac., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Wolbrecht, Walter F., 316 Parkwood, Kirkwood, Mo.
Wolf, Lloyd L., No. Wisconsin Colony & Training Sch., Chippewa Falls, Wis.
Wolf, Ruth, Dir., Spec. Services, County Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wolfe, Josephine B., Elem. Supv. and Read. Consultant, Springfield, Pa.
Wolfe, W. D., Superintendent of Schools, Lawrence, Kan.
Wolfram, Donald J., Dean, Alma White College, Zarephath, N.J.
Wolk, Mrs. Samuel J. B., 420 East 23rd St., New York, N.Y.
Woo, K. K., Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.
Wood, C. B., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.
Wood, Darrell E., 1419 Washington St., Emporia, Kan.
Wood, Ernest R., Sch. of Educ., New York University, New York, N.Y.
Wood, Joseph E., Prin., Glenfield Junior High School, Montclair, N.J.

Wood, Roi S., Superintendent of Schools, Joplin, Mo.
Wood, W. Clement, Head, Dept. of Educ., Ft. Hays Kan. State Col., Hays, Kan.
Woodhull, James E., Voc. Educ. Dept., Colorado A. & M. Coll., Fort Collins, Colo.
Woodring, Wiley F., Elem. Prin., Southwest Missouri St. Col., Springfield, Mo.
Woods, Robert K., Wisconsin State College, Platteville, Wis.
Woodside, J. Barnes, Supt. of Schools, Willoughby, Ohio
Woodson, C. C., Principal, Carver High School, Spartanburg, S.C.
Woodward, Myrle A., 124 High Rock Lane, Westwood, Mass.
Woodworth, Denny, Col. of Educ., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Woodworth, I. R., Dept. of Educ., Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Calif.
Woody, Thomas, Sch. of Educ., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Woofter, J. A., 412 South Union St., Ada, Ohio
Woolf, Kenneth A., Supt. of Schls., Wayne Twp., Mountain View, N.J.
Woollatt, Lorne H., Dir. of Research, Public Schools, Baltimore, Md.
Wooton, Flaud C., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wotnoski, Helen C., 222½ E. St. Paul Street, Spring Valley, Ill.
Wray, Shirl D., Kokomo High School, Kokomo, Ind.
Wright, C. O., Exec. Secy., Kansas State Tchrs. Assn., Topeka, Kan.
Wright, F. L., Dept. of Educ., Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
Wright, Mrs. Roberta Peddy, Dept. of Educ., A. & I. State Col., Nashville, Tenn.
Wrightstone, J. Wayne, Dir., Bureau of Educ. Res., Bd. of Educ., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Wubben, Horace J., President, Mesa County Junior Col., Grand Junction, Colo.
Wyeth, E. R., 3 Iris St., Burwood, Melbourne, Australia
Wynne, John P., Head, Dept. of Educ., State Tchrs. College, Farmville, Va.

Yaple, Graydon W., Dean of Faculty, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio
Yauch, Wilbur A., Head, Dept. of Educ., No. Ill. St. Tchrs. Col., DeKalb, Ill.
Yeokum, Charles F., 1618 Tennessee St., Lawrence, Kan.
Yeuell, Gladstone H., University of Alabama, University, Ala.
Yoakam, Gerald A., Cathedral of Learning, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Young, Albert T., Jr., School Psychologist, Falls Church, Va.
Young, Charles W., Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio
Young, Francis Allan, State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.
Young, Horace A., Jr., Texas Southern University, Houston, Tex.
Young, J. E. M., Brandon College, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada
Young, John J., Superintendent of Schools, Mishawaka, Ind.
Young, Lloyd P., President, Keene Teachers College, Keene, N.H.
Young, Paul A., Supt., York Com. High School, Elmhurst, Ill.
Young, William E., Dir., Div. of Elem. Educ., State Educ. Dept., Albany, N.Y.
Youngs, Joseph P., Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.
Yuhas, Theodore F., Prin., Campus Sch., Wis. State College, Eau Claire, Wis.
Yunghans, Ernest E., 1026 N. Temple Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.

Zahorsky, Mrs. Metta, 1311 Porto Rico, Alamogeordo, N.M.
Zeller, Dale. *Deceased.*
Zellner, Aubrey, Dept. of Educ., St. John's Univ., Collegeville, Minn.
Zim, Herbert S., Dept. of Educ., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Zintz, Miles V., 2216 Main Street, Cedar Falls, Iowa
Zulauf, Romeo M., Northern Illinois State Teachers College, DeKalb, Ill.
Zwetschke, Earl T., Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

1. PURPOSE. The purpose of the National Society is to promote the investigation and discussion of educational questions. To this end it holds an annual meeting and publishes a series of yearbooks.

2. ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP. Any person who is interested in receiving its publications may become a member by sending to the Secretary-Treasurer information concerning name, title, and address, and a check for $5.00 (see Item 5).

Membership is not transferable; it is limited to individuals, and may not be held by libraries, schools, or other institutions, either directly or indirectly.

3. PERIOD OF MEMBERSHIP. Applicants for membership may not date their entrance back of the current calendar year, and all memberships terminate automatically on December 31, unless the dues for the ensuing year are paid as indicated in Item 6.

4. DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS. Members pay dues of $4.00 annually, receive a cloth-bound copy of each publication, are entitled to vote, to participate in discussion, and (under certain conditions) to hold office. The names of members are printed in the yearbooks.

Persons who are sixty years of age or above may become life members on payment of fee based on average life-expectancy of their age group. For information, apply to Secretary-Treasurer.

5. ENTRANCE FEE. New members are required the first year to pay, in addition to the dues, an entrance fee of one dollar.

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School warrants and vouchers from institutions must be accompanied by definite information concerning the name and address of the person for whom membership fee is being paid. Statements of dues are rendered on our own form only. The Secretary's office cannot undertake to fill out special invoice forms of any sort or to affix notary's affidavit to statements or receipts.

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7. DISTRIBUTION OF YEARBOOKS TO MEMBERS. The yearbooks, ready prior to each February meeting, will be mailed from the office of the distributors, only to members whose dues for that year have been paid. Members who desire yearbooks prior to the current year must purchase them directly from the distributors (see Item 8.)

8. COMMERCIAL SALES. The distribution of all yearbooks prior to the current year, and also of those of the current year not regularly mailed to members in exchange for their dues, is in the hands of the distributor, not of the Secretary. For such commercial sales, communicate directly with the University of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Illinois, which will gladly send a price list covering all the publications of this Society and of its predecessor, the National Herbart Society. This list is also printed in the yearbook.

9. YEARBOOKS. The yearbooks are issued about one month before the February meeting. They comprise from 600 to 800 pages annually. Unusual effort has been made to make them, on the one hand, of immediate practical value, and, on the other hand, representative of sound scholarship and scientific investigation.

10. MEETINGS. The annual meeting, at which the yearbooks are discussed, is held in February at the same time and place as the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators.

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